

MALE and FEMALE REMIZ; or PENDULINE TITMOUSE.

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TRAVELS

INTO

POLAND, RUSSIA, SWEDEN,

AND

DENMARK.

INTERSPERSED WITH HISTORICAL RELATIONS
AND POLITICAL INQUIRIES.

~~ILLUSTRATED WITH CHARTS AND ENGRAVINGS.~~



BY WILLIAM COKE, A.M. F.R.S.

FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; AND CHAPLAIN TO
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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TO THE

Right Honourable Lord HERBERT.

MY LORD,

AS the advantages which I enjoyed from accompanying your Lordship upon your travels enabled me to collect the materials for the following work, it cannot be inscribed to any other person with so much propriety as to your Lordship. You, I flatter myself, will recollect with pleasure the result of those inquiries to which you were particularly attentive; and I am happy in this publick opportunity of expressing the grateful sense which I entertain of being honoured with your Lordship's friendship; and of declaring the sincere regard and attachment with which I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most faithful

And obedient servant,

WILLIAM COXE.

King's College, Cambridge.
April 2, 1784.

P R E F A C E.

THE following pages contain the result of that intelligence which I collected, and those observations which occurred, during my travels through the Northern kingdoms of Europe; and it is necessary to apprise the reader upon what foundation the principal facts are supported.

In regard to Poland, I was honoured with information from persons of the highest rank and authority; and fortunately obtained possession of some original letters written from Warsaw, before and during the Partition, which have enabled me to throw a considerable light over that interesting period. I presume, therefore, that the account of Poland comprehends many particulars which have not been hitherto presented to the publick.

With respect to Russia, as the Empress herself deigned to answer some queries relative to the state of the publick prisons*; this gracious condescension in so great a sovereign could not but facilitate my further inquiries.

To this I must add, that the late celebrated historian†, Mr. Muller, favoured me with various communications on some of the most important and intricate parts of the Russian annals, and pointed out ~~several~~ the most approved writers on this empire.

The nature of the Swedish government rendered the sources of information easy of access; and, since my return to England, several

* See Vol. II. p. 84.

† Mr. Muller died in the latter end of 1783. The Empress, who, in consideration of his great merit, had honoured him with

the order of St. Vladimir, has, in respect to his memory, conferred a pension on his widow, and ennobled his son.

Swedish gentlemen, well versed in the constitution of their country, have supplied much additional intelligence.

As the materials which I acquired in Denmark were less extensive than those collected in the other parts, the account of that kingdom is confined to those circumstances which I was able to ascertain, it having been my invariable resolution never to adopt uncertain accounts, but to adhere solely to those facts which appeared to me to be derived from the most unquestionable authorities.

In the historical relations I have had recourse to many English and foreign authors, and particularly several German writers of unimpeached veracity, who were resident for a considerable time in some of the Northern kingdoms, and from whom I have drawn many anecdotes not known to the English reader.

Throughout this work I have scrupulously cited the authors whom I have consulted, and have subjoined in the Appendix to the first volume a list of the principal books employed on this occasion, with an explanation of the references by which they are distinguished.

I cannot close this preface without expressing my obligations to Mr. Wraxall, Mr. Pennant, and Dr. Pulteney, for their respective assistance, acknowledged in the course of the work. Colonel Floyd also claims my sincerest thanks for communicating his accurate Journal of our Tour, to whose observations and descriptions, beside the extracts in the following pages, I gratefully confess myself indebted for many interesting particulars.

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P O L A N D.

VOL. I.

B

HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

OF

POLAND.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Researches into the origin and progress of the Polish government.—An inquiry into the causes of the gradual diminution of royal prerogative, and establishment of a monarchy wholly elective.—Licentious power and conduct of the nobles.—Bad effects of aristocratical authority.

IT is a matter of extreme difficulty to investigate in any country the origin and progress of its constitution; as well because the beginning of all histories is involved in obscurity and fable; as because that body of laws and usages, which form the essence of every government, is not created

BOOK at once, in any particular period, or by a single event, but
 I. generally results from a series of circumstances, many of them scarce separately discernible. In Poland, however, the political observer has this singular advantage, that a succession of accurate historians * (some of whom flourished soon after the *æra*, when the most important branches of the Polish constitution were ascertained) have developed with uncommon precision and care the various occurrences and institutions, from which the extraordinary form of government, at present subsisting in that kingdom, was gradually derived. By means of their authentic narratives we are enabled to trace, in what manner, and from what concurrence of circumstances, a monarchy nearly absolute, sunk in the course of a few centuries, without any deposition of the prince or violent convulsion, into a state of almost total aristocracy.

A brief inquiry into the principal incidents which produced this remarkable constitution, accompanied by such political reflexions as the progress of the detail suggests, will not, I flatter myself, prove uninteresting; and will properly introduce a view of Poland in its present state.

The sovereigns of Poland are usually ranged into four classes. I. Of the house of Lesko. II. Of Piast. III. Of Jaghellon. IV. Of different families. These classes divide the history of Poland into four corresponding periods.

I. The first † period is allowed by the best Polish historians to be entirely fabulous; they therefore generally commence their narratives at the second *æra*.

II.

* Dlugossius, the father of Polish history, was born in 1415, only 45 years after the demise of Casimir the Great, from whose reign Poland dates her written laws. He begins his history from the earliest period of the Polish annals, and carries it down to the year 1480.

† *Quæ de Lecho ejusque successoribus ad Piastum usque et ultra memorantur, sunt obscura, fabulosa, et falsa, quare silentio transmittimur, ne variis narrationibus immoremur;* are the words of Lengnich, *Hist. Polon. p. 2.* The fabulous story of Lesko is as follows: Upon the death of Lesko

II. The earliest part even of this second epoch has an air of romance; and the account of Piaſt, who gave his name to a line of kings, and from whom all the natives of Poland who have ascended the throne are to this day called Piaſt, is little else than a series of fictions. By some he is said to have been a wheelwright, by others a common peasant, and by all to have gained the crown through the visible interposition of two angels. Nor indeed can we expect any faithful accounts of a people buried in barbarism, wholly without letters, and immersed in Pagan superstition. We cannot therefore date the authenticity of the Polish annals earlier than the accession of Micislaus II. the fourth sovereign of the line of Piaſt: from his reign Poland began to be connected with Germany, the historians of which country, as well as those of Sweden and Denmark, throw a considerable light upon Polish affairs prior to the existence of native historians.

CHAP.
I.
A. D.
964.

Some writers have observed, that during the whole of the second period the monarchy was always elective, and the sovereign limited in his power; others, on the contrary, have affirmed, that the crown was hereditary, and its authority absolute: but this controversy may be easily reconciled; the crown seemed hereditary from its continuance in the same family, and had at the same time an elective ap-

pearance. Lesko I. duke of Poland, a race was appointed on horseback, and the victor was to be nominated sovereign. Leszec, one of the candidates, in order to secure the victory, strewed part of the course with nails, leaving a clear passage for his own horse. This stratagem was discovered by another of the

candidates, and made known to the people; the latter rose, massacred Leszec, and proclaimed the other duke, who assumed the name of Lesko II. The era in which this Lesko reigned is so uncertain, that some historians refer it to the 6th, others the 7th, and even the 8th century.

pearance,

BOOK I. pearance, because, upon the death of the king, his successor was formally * nominated and recognized in an assembly of the nobility and clergy of the realm. With respect to the extent of the king's authority, his power, as in the generality of feudal governments when exercised by an able and enterprising prince, triumphed over all controul; but, in the hands of an incapable sovereign, was easily depressed by the privileges of a licentious and warlike nobility.

1347. Towards the close of this second period, Casimir the Great retrenched the turbulent and oppressive authority of the principal barons; and granted certain immunities to the nobles and gentry. This great monarch was aware, that no other expedient could introduce order into this kingdom, except a limitation of the vast influence possessed by the † Palatines or principal nobility: if he had been succeeded by a line of hereditary monarchs, it is probable that the barons would never have recovered their former ascendancy; and that the feudal system would have been gradually annihilated in Poland as in other parts of Europe.

But his nephew Louis, king of Hungary who succeeded him, being a foreigner, was obliged, in order to ensure the possession of the throne, to subscribe certain conditions, which infringed the power of the sovereign, and gave fresh vigour to that of the barons and inferior nobles. The principal concessions made by Louis were, not to impose any additional taxes by his mere regal authority without the

* Memorati ergo principes, non per ejusmodi electionem, qualis hodie celebratur, ad regnum pervenerunt, sed electio quam possim nominant scriptores, revera erat declaratio procerum & nobilium, quæ præcedebat, antequam regimen novi principes in-

grederentur.

Lengnich, Jus Publicum Regni Poloniæ V. I. p. 58.

† Palatiporum et judicum infinita potestas coercita est, &c. Sarnitius, p. 1141.

consent of the nation; and that in case of his demise without male heirs, the privilege of appointing a sovereign should revert to the nobles at large*. CHAP. I.

In consequence of this agreement, Louis was allowed to ascend the throne without opposition; and having no sons, he, with a view of insuring the succession to his son-in-law the Emperor Sigismund married to his eldest daughter Maria, promised, in addition to all the former grants, to diminish the taxes, to repair the fortresses at his own expence, and to confer no dignities or offices upon foreigners†.

III. The third period begins upon the death of Louis, when the Poles very politically set aside Sigismund, who would have been formidable to their newly acquired immunities; and elected for their king Ladislaus Jaghellon duke of Lithuania, in consequence of his fully confirming all the stipulations of Louis, and espousing Hedwige youngest daughter of the deceased monarch.

As, by the renunciation of Louis, the kings of Poland were divested of the right to impose taxes without consent of the nation, Ladislaus assembled the nobles‡ in their respective provinces in order to obtain an additional tribute. These provincial assemblies gave birth to the dietines; which, however, no longer retain the power of raising money in their several districts, but only elect the nuntios or representatives for the general diet.

Ladislaus III. son of Ladislaus Jaghellon, purchased his nomination to the succession, during the life of his father, by a confirmation of all the privileges above enumerated; which he solemnly ratified at his accession.

* Dlugossius, Lib. IX. p. 1102, &c.

† Prelatorum, Baronum et Militarium.

‡ See Lengnich, Pac. Con. Aug. III. Lengnich, Jus Pub. vol. II. p. 35. Pref. p. 5.

S K E T C H O F T H E

BOOK

I.

Under Casimir III. * brother and successor to Ladislaus III. several further innovations were introduced into the original constitution, all unfavourable to regal prerogative. One of the principal changes which took place in this reign, and which laid the foundation of still more important revolutions in the Polish government, was the convention of a national diet invested with the sole power of granting supplies. Each Palatinate or province was permitted to send to this general diet, beside the Palatines and other principal barons, a certain number of nuntios or representatives, chosen by the nobles and burghers †. This reign is therefore considered by the popular party as the æra, at which the freedom of the constitution was permanently established. Casimir was engaged in several unsuccessful wars, which exhausted the royal treasures; and as he could not impose any taxes without the consent of the nation, he was under the necessity of applying repeatedly to the diet for subsidies: almost every supply was accompanied with a list of grievances, and produced a diminution of prerogative.

In Poland, as in all feudal governments, the barons, at the head of their vassals, are bound to fight in defence of the kingdom: before the reign of Casimir III. the king could require such military, or, as they were called, feudal services; but this monarch, in compensation for some pecuniary aid, gave up that privilege, and renounced ‡ the power of summoning the nobles to his standard; he likewise agreed not to enact any laws without the concurrence of the national diet.

* Sometimes called Casimir IV.

† See chap. VIII. for proof that the burghers were permitted to send representatives.

‡ Quod nullas constitutiones faceret, ne-

que terrigenas ad bellum moveri mandaret, absque conventione communi in singulis terris instituendâ.

Const. Pol. v. l. p. 186.

John Albert, second son of Casimir, being elected in preference to his elder brother Ladislaus king of Hungary and Bohemia, assented without hesitation, as the price of this partiality, to all the immunities extorted from his predecessors; and swore to their observance in a general * diet held at Petrikau, 1496.

Alexander, brother and successor of John Albert, declared, in 1505, the following limitations of sovereign authority to be fundamental laws of the kingdom. 1. The king cannot impose taxes. 2. He cannot require the feudal services; 3. nor alienate the royal domains; 4. nor enact laws; 5. nor coin money; 6. nor alter the process in the courts of justice.

Sigismond I. succeeded Alexander: one † of the Polish historians, speaking of his reign, exclaims with much indignation, "The king is almost wholly destitute of power; he cannot procure any subsidy on the most pressing emergency, for carrying on war, or for the portion of his daughters, without increasing the privileges of the nobility."

Notwithstanding, however, this exclamation, we cannot forbear to remark, that the power of levying taxes at discretion is the most dangerous prerogative that can be lodged in the hands of a sovereign, and the most formidable engine of despotic authority: the acquisition of it by the monarchs of France finally subverted the liberties of that kingdom; and it was made the first object of resistance by the assertors of freedom in our own country.

* *Præclarorum Baronum ac militum forum consilio ac voluntate, &c. Const. Pol. de singulis terrarum congregatum universis.* v. I. p. 194.

† Orichovius.

BOOK I. If indeed we were inclined to point out any particular period, at which the Polish constitution attained its most perfect state, we should perhaps fix on the reign of Sigismund I. when the person and property of the subject were secured by ample provisions; and the crown still retained considerable influence. But the time was arrived, when an inordinate passion for liberty led the nobles to render the throne wholly elective; and at each election to continue their encroachments upon the regal authority, until the king was reduced to a mere pageant. The first public attempt towards establishing this favourite object of the Poles, a free election of the king, was brought forward in the reign of Sigismund Augustus, son and successor of Sigismund I. who was constrained in 1550 to agree, that no future king should succeed to the throne, unless he was freely elected by the nation.

The death of Sigismund Augustus without issue gave efficacy to this concession, which might otherwise have been counteracted by the popularity and influence attendant on a claimant by hereditary succession. For it may not be improper to remark, that, during the Jaghellon line, the sovereigns upon their accession, or election, although formally raised to the throne by the consent of the nation, still rested their pretensions upon hereditary right, as well as upon this consent; always styling themselves *heirs* of the kingdom of Poland. Sigismund Augustus, in whom the male line of the Jaghellon family became extinct, was the last who bore that title*.

IV. The fourth period begins upon the demise of Sigismund Augustus, in 1572, when all title to the crown from hereditary right was formally abandoned, and the most

* Lengnich, Jus Pub. V. I. p. 31

absolute freedom of election established upon the most permanent basis. At this era a charter of immunities was drawn up at a general diet, a ratification of which it was determined to exact from the new sovereign, prior to his election. The ground-work of this charter, termed in the Polish law *Pacta Conventa*, was the whole body of privileges obtained from Louis and his successors, with the following additions: 1. That the king should be elective, and that his successor should never be appointed during his life. 2. That the diets, the holding of which depended solely upon the will of the kings, should be assembled every two years. 3. That every noble or gentleman in the whole realm should have a vote in the diet of election. 4. That, in case the king should infringe the laws and privileges of the nation, his subjects should be absolved from their oaths of allegiance. From this period the *Pacta Conventa*, occasionally enlarged, have been confirmed by every sovereign at his coronation.

Henry of Valois, duke of Anjou and brother of Charles IX. King of France, was the first sovereign who ascended the throne after the constitution had been thus new-modelled. He secured his election, as well by private bribes to the nobles, as by a stipulation to pay an annual pension to the Republic from the revenues of France. His example has been necessarily followed by each succeeding sovereign, who, beside an unconditional ratification of the *Pacta Conventa*, has been always constrained to purchase the crown by a public charge, and by private corruption; circumstances which ensure to the Poles an elective monarchy.

Under Stephen Bathory, the regal power was still further abridged by the appointment of sixteen resident senators,

* See the Definition of a Noble. Ch. VIII.

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I.

chosen at each diet, to attend the king, and to give their opinion in all matters of importance, so that he could not issue any decree without their consent*. Another fatal blow was also given to his prerogative in 1578, by taking from him the supreme jurisdiction, or the power of judging in the last resort the causes of the nobles, excepting such as arise within a small distance † of the sovereign's place of residence: it was enacted, that without the concurrence of the king each palatinate or province should elect in their dietines their own judges, who should form supreme courts of justice, called *Tribunalia Regni* ‡; and that in these courts the causes of the nobles should be decided finally and without appeal; a mode of judicature which prevails to this day.

The turbulent reign of John Casimir was marked by the introduction of the *Liberum Veto* ||, or the power which each nuntio claims and exercises of interposing a negative, and in consequence of that interposition of breaking up the diet; a privilege which the sovereign himself does not possess, and which has contributed more than any other innovation to destroy the due balance of the Polish constitution.

But the king was still the fountain of honour: he conferred the principal dignities and great offices of the republic; and bestowed the Starosties, or Royal fiefs, which are held during the life-time of the possessor. Hence he still maintained great influence in the councils of the nation; but this last solitary branch of royal prerogative was wrested

* This appointment was made, in 1573, under Henry, but did not absolutely take place till the reign of Stephen. Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. l. p. 344. II. 44.

† The courts exercising justice in the king's name within this district are called *Assessoria Regni*. Until the death of John Sobieski, the kings judged frequently in

person, but this ceased to be the custom from the time of Augustus II: and the Great Chancellor now exercises, in the Majesty's name, that branch of royal property.

‡ Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. II. p. 516.

|| Eng. an account of the *Liberum Veto*, see chap. VII.

from his present Majesty at the establishment of the Permanent Council.*

Thus it appears, that, from the time of Louis to the present period, the nobles have continued without interruption to diminish the regal authority, and to augment their own privileges. Many of the concessions which they obtained from the sovereigns of the Jaghellon line, were just and reasonable, and aimed only at an equitable degree of freedom. When, however, an absolute right to dispose of so tempting an object as the crown gave them repeated opportunities of prescribing unconditional terms to every candidate for the throne, they were no longer content with that equal distribution of power, which is the excellence of a limited monarchy; but aspired to and nearly attained a direct aristocracy under a regal title and form.

From this general review of the revolutions in the constitution of Poland, we may easily infer, that, notwithstanding their so much boasted liberty, the Poles are by no means equally free. Indeed their historians, however they may differ in other points, unanimously agree in reprobating their affectation of liberty, the shadow rather than the reality of freedom; which is in fact merely a turbulent system of Aristocratic licentiousness, where a few members of the community are above the controul of law, while the majority are excluded from its protection. We should suppose, that, if in any instance they were free, it would be in the election of a king, one of their most vaunted privileges; and yet Sarnicki addresses the Poles with great truth in the following words:—"Turn over your annals, and you will

* A delineation of the Permanent Council established it, is given in chapter V.
out in the words of the edict which esta-

"scarcely

BOOK I. "scarcely find a single example of a free election*." Another Polish historian of great note, the celebrated Stanislaus Lubieniski bishop of Plotko, justly contends that the Poles, free as they pretend to be, are absolutely in a state of slavery, to which they have been reduced by an inconsiderate passion for liberty †.

In a word, it is evident beyond the possibility of doubt, from the history of this country, that the Poles were more free at home, and more independent and flourishing abroad, when the sovereign had more authority, when the nobles assisted at the diets without the privilege of dissolving them; and when they submitted themselves and their peasants to the jurisdiction of the king. The proof of this assertion is founded on the following facts.

I. The present wretched state of the towns compared with their former flourishing condition, during the reigns of the Jaghellon family, when the burghers even possessed a right of sending nuntios to the diets ‡, forms a strong contrast to their former prosperity; and attests the melancholy effects of aristocratical despotism.

II. The wretched condition and poverty of the peasants, whose increase of oppression has kept pace in an equal proportion with the increase of the power of the nobles; for when the king lost his weight in the constitution, this most numerous and useful order of society lost a patron and protector.

* Revolvite annales vestros vix ullum exemplum liberæ electionis invenietis.

† Expendamus paululum statum reipublicæ: inconsultus libertatis amor dum iidem leges ferunt, qui pœnis obnoxii sunt, et impunitatis desiderio, juris, quo tot sæculis patria stetit, convellunt fundamenta, nos eo

redegit ut liberi pessimo cuique serviamus. Nulla legum reverentia, nulla potestatis verecundia: tantum quisque audet, quantum habet virium. Dædum jam agricolas miseros aspersi servitutis jugo pressimus, &c. p. 194.

‡ See Chap. VIII.

III. A total confusion introduced into the administration of public affairs; and a state of anarchy, which prevents deliberation, and delays the adoption of necessary measures even in times of the most pressing emergency. CHAP.
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IV. The declension of the importance, and contraction of the territories of the republic. During the reigns of the kings of the Jaghellon family, before the nobles had acquired a decided preponderancy in the state, the kingdom of Poland was far more powerful and extensive than it is at present: since the changes in the constitution, and the introduction of anarchy falsely called liberty, the Poles have not only made no conquest except what they have been forced to relinquish; but have seen even their original territories gradually mouldering away, and at last considerably reduced by the late partition. A kingdom with more than twelve millions of inhabitants, if well regulated, would never have fell so easy a prey to the ambition of its neighbours: its internal strength, assisted by its natural alliances, would have been sufficient to have protracted, if not prevented, its dismemberment. Nor are the fatal effects of the evils inherent in the constitution yet fully exhausted: the same incapacity of resisting the encroachments of neighbouring powers, which made the Poles so tamely accede to the late division, will render them equally submissive, whenever any future claims shall be urged by a combination of the neighbouring states; and compel them to acquiesce under any pretensions, however chimerical, or however unjust.

Anarchy, in short, and confusion are not only tolerated, but are even supposed by the nobles, who reap the benefit of those evils, to be absolutely necessary for the support of the constitution: so that there is a proverb, which implies that Poland subsists by anarchy. In opposition to this absurd

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idea, an historian, whom I have before mentioned, advises his countrymen no longer to suffer the republic to be governed by chance, or to submit to the cast of the die the administration of affairs, on which their very existence as a nation depends*.

King Stanislaus Letzinski and the Abbé Konarski are the most celebrated of the modern Polish authors, who have exposed in the strongest colours the disorders of the government, and the exorbitancy of privileges possessed by the nobles; but what avail the representations of historians against factions, against a tumultuous nobility, or against the cabals of neighbouring powers. It is hardly possible to suppose that Poland, without an army, without money, without fortresses, without resources, and without good government the source of all the other calamities, will ever emerge from her present situation: her misfortunes will not only continue, but will gradually increase, notwithstanding the remonstrances of a few real patriots; until by slow progress, or some violent revolution, Poland either subsides into an hereditary monarchy, or a well-ordered republic; or, which is more probable, is totally swallowed up by the neighbouring powers.

* Non condemnetis (says Sarniski, in the striking passage to which I allude, and of which it is impossible to preserve the spirit in a translation) quæso prudentissimorum virorum consilia; nec sinatis amplius *casu* rempublicam regi, nec permittatis *dubie* *aleæ* res, in quibus vita et mors, salus et interitus, ad lumen sedent.

Ladislaus, called I. Loketec, died 1533.

Casimir II. the Great, b. 1310; d. 1370, aged 60; in him ended the male line of the House of Piast,

Elizabeth, mar. Carobart son of Charles II. king of Naples and king of Hungary.

Elizabeth, mar. Bogislas duke of Pomerania.

Anne, m. William count of Cilly.

Louis, k. of Hungary 1342; of Poland 1370; died 1382, aged 56; mar. 1. Margaret daughter of the emperor Charles IV. 2. Elizabeth daughter of Stephen governor of Bosnia.

Andrew, m. Joan I. queen of Naples, assassinated at 1345.

Anne, mar. Ladislaus Jaghellon.

KINGS of POLAND of the House of JAGHELLON.

Ladislaus II. Jaghellon, duke of Lithuania, king of Poland 1386, upon his marriage with Hedwige; died at Grodz, May 31, 1434, aged near 60; mar. 1. Hedwige; 2. Anne, duke of William count of Cilli and grandson of Casimir the Great; 3. Elizabeth Granowka; 4. Sophia.

Ladislaus III. king of Hungary 1440; of Poland 1434; killed at the battle of Varna 1444, aged 21.

Casimir III. king 1444; died at Grodno, June 1494, aged 64; married Elizabeth daughter of the emperor Albert II.

Ladislaus king of Hungary and Bohemia.

John I. Albert R. 1494; d. at Thorn, April 1501, aged 41, unmarried.

Alexander, k. 1501; d. at Vilna, Aug. 19, 1506, aged 46; mar. Helen daughter of Ivan Vasilievitch, without issue.

Sigismund I. king 1506; died April 1, 1548, aged 82; mar. 1. Hedwige princess of Transylvania; 2. Bona daughter of John Stroz duke of Milan.

Sigismund II. Augustus k. 1548; d. July 7, 1572, at Knin, aged 52; m. 1. Elizabeth daughter of the emperor Ferdinand I. 2. Barbara daughter of the duke of Radzivil; 3. Catharine sister of his first wife Elizabeth. In Sigismund Augustus ended the male line of the house of Jaghellon.

Hedwige, mar. Joachim II. elector of Brandenburg.

Isabella, mar. the unfortunate John Zapola, prince of Transylvania, and king of Hungary in opposition to the emperor Ferdinand I.

Anne, mar. Stephen Bathori; d. 1596.

Catharine, mar. John king of Sweden.

Sigismund III.

Ladislaus III.

John Casimir.

John Albert, bishop of Breslaw and Plotko; d. 1655.

Maria, m. Sigismund emperor of Germany.

Hedwige, m. Ladislaus Jaghellon.

KINGS of POLAND of different Families.

Henry of Valois, duke of Anjou, after wards king of France, king of Poland, married Anne Jaghellon; d. June 1574.	Sigismund III. Ladislaus IV. John II. Casimir, k. Nov. 1648, abdicated Sept. 1668; d. at Meretz, 16, 1668; m. 1. France, Dec. 1672, aged 52; m. 2. Cecilia daugh. of the emperor Ferdinand II. his brother's widow. 2. Louisa Maria princess of Nevers.	Michael Korybut Wielebicki, k. June 21, 1674; d. at Villanow, June 17, 1696, aged 66; m. Marie de la Grange d'Arquen.	John III. Sobieski, k. May 21, 1674; d. at Villanow, June 17, 1696, aged 66; m. Christina Maria daughter of Christian margrave of Brandenburg Joseph I. Barith.	Augustus II. Augustus III. Augustus, k. June 1, 1704; d. at Warsaw, Jan. 1733, aged 63; m. 1. Maria Josepha daughter of the emperor Joseph I. 2. Maria Theresia daughter of the emperor Joseph II. Louis XV.
				Stanislaus Leszczinski, chosen in opposition to Augustus II. July 12, 1704; driven from Poland; again elected by a party upon the death of Augustus II. again obliged to retire; retained the title of king; d. at Lunewille, Feb. 23, 1766, His daughter Marie mar. Louis XV.

P R E S E N T R E I G N.

C H A P. II.

Election of Stanislaus Augustus.—His excellent regulations opposed by the neighbouring powers.—History of the Dissidents—their privileges abolished by the diet of 1766.—Confederacies in their favour supported by the Empress of Russia.—Restored to their rights by the diet of 1768.—Proceedings of that diet.—Rise of the civil commotions.

UPON the demise of Augustus II. Stanislaus Augustus, son of Count Poniatowski the friend and companion of Charles XII. was supported in his pretensions to the crown by the Empress of Russia, and the King of Prussia; their assistance, joined to that of a strong party among the nobles who had declared in his favour, and aided by his great personal accomplishments, raised him to the throne of Poland. Five thousand Russian troops stationed at a small distance from the plain of Vola, wherein the diet of election was assembled, secured good order and overawed the violence of the opposite party. The practice of cantoning a body of soldiers near the plain where the Polish kings are elected, has been adopted by different foreign powers for near a century; a mode of proceeding, which, however galling it may appear to the licentious nobility, prevents the effusion of blood that formerly deluged these popular assemblies.

Stanislaus was in the 32d year of his age when he ascended the throne in 1764, and seemed calculated by his virtues and abilities to raise Poland from its deplorable state; if the defects of the constitution had not fettered his exertions

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II.

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I. for the public good. The fairest hopes were conceived of his future reign; but these flattering presages at first realised, were soon disappointed by the factions of a turbulent people, fomented by the intrigues of the neighbouring powers: thus the reign of the most amiable among the Polish sovereigns was doomed to experience the dreadful effects of that excessive liberty, which is almost inconsistent with the existence of government.

The first acts of his Majesty's reign were highly adapted to introduce order and regularity into the interior administration, and to rescue his country from her dependence upon foreign powers. The tendency of these excellent regulations to increase the power and consequence of Poland gave umbrage to the adjacent states; and were likewise vigorously opposed by a strong party within the kingdom: at this crisis too religious disputes blending themselves with political cabals, the flame of civil discord burst forth with a violence which had not hitherto raged even in Poland.

The body of Polish religionists, termed Dissidents, make a principal figure in the subsequent commotions; their concerns being the real or pretended object of attention in every material transaction. The history of this party is thus sketched by the Polish historians.

The reformation made its way into Poland under Sigismund I. who persecuted its followers: their number however gaining ground, his son Sigismund Augustus* not only indulged them in the most liberal exercise of their worship; but admitted them together with the Greeks, and all other sects then subsisting in Poland, to a seat

* Sigismund Augustus gave such evident marks of favour to the protestant confession, that he was even suspected of being inclined to change his religion, "ut etiam de ipso rumor esset ac si avita sacra renuntiare vellet," Lengnich, Jus Publ. II. p. 554.

in the diet, and to all the honours and privileges before exclusively confined to the catholics. These maxims of unlimited toleration were so generally adopted by the nation at large, that the members of the diet, which assembled upon the decease of Sigismund Augustus, being of different persuasions, determined on a reciprocal indulgence of their respective tenets: in order to avoid any hateful distinctions, they called themselves indiscriminately "dissidents in religion *," a phrase intimating, not, according to our notions, separatists from an established church, but simply persons holding a diversity of opinions in religious matters. It was at the same time enacted, that this difference of religious sentiments should create no difference in civil rights; and accordingly in the *Pacta Conventa* formed by the diet, the following clause was inserted as part of the coronation oath to be tendered to the new sovereign. "I will keep peace among the

* This remarkable decree is as follows:

"Et quoniam, aiunt ordines, in nostrâ Re-
publ. non parum est dissidium in causâ
Religionis Christianæ, occurrendo ne ex
hâc causâ inter homines damnosa quædam
seditio oriatur, uti in aliis Regnâs clare
videmus, spondemus hoc nobis invicem,
pro nobis & successoribus nostris, in per-
petuum, sub vinculo juramenti, fide, ho-
nore & conscientiis nostris quod, *qui su-*
mus dissidentes de religione, pacem inter
nos conservare, & propter diversam fidem,
& mutationes in ecclesiis, sanguinem non
effundere, neque multare pecuniâ, infami-
â, carceribus & exilio, & superioritatî
alicui aut officio ad ejusmodi processum
nullo modo auxilium dare: quin imo, si
quis sanguinem effundere voluerit, ex istâ
causâ opponere nos omnes enim ob-
stricti, licet etiam id alioquin sub præ-

"textu decreti, aut alicujus processus judi-
ciarîi facere voluerit a *Pacta Conventa*
Augusti III." p. 20.

We need not be surprized at this general sense of the diet, so contrary to the general principles of the catholics, when we consider that the catholic nuncios were inferior in number to those of the other persuasions, so that the former were well satisfied to obtain an equality with the others. The protestant party in the nation was at this period so strong, that it was even taken into consideration to elect for their king a Polish nobleman, who had embraced the reformed religion. "Cum in senatu non majorem, parem tamen catholicis partem efficerent, inter equites autem prævalerent." Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. II. p. 555. See also Lind's Letters on the State of Poland, p. 82.

BOOK "diffidends*." This clause Henry of Anjou swore to ob-
I. serve, before he was permitted to ascend the throne.

In process of time, however, the Roman catholics, having, under the protection and influence of successive sovereigns, acquired a considerable ascendancy, ventured to appropriate the expression of diffidends to all those who dissented from the catholic religion. This alteration in the use of the title was attended at first with no incroachments on the privileges of the other sects; and the term diffidends, though now conveying the idea of a separation from the established worship, was not yet regarded in an obnoxious light. The diffidends indeed still continued in such unquestioned possession of all rights civil and religious, that, when it was agreed by both catholics and protestants to persecute the arians, it was thought necessary, prior to their persecution, to expel them from the body of diffidends. In consequence of this exclusion, the arians, in the reign of John Casimir, were first rendered incapable of being elected nuntios, afterwards deprived of their places of worship, and finally banished from Poland †.

* "Pacem inter diffidentes servabo."
Henry, who objected to this universal toleration, tried to withhold his consent; upon which one of the Polish envoys cried out, "Unless your Majesty confirms this article, you cannot be king of Poland," nisi eam conditionem approbaveris, Rex Poloniae non eris. Pac. Con. Aug. III. p. 19.

† The following quotations from Lengnich prove the truth of these facts:

"Credebant ariani se ad diffidentes pertinere, verum neque diffidentes illos in eorum numero esse voluerunt,

"Post mortem Uladislai IV. catholici declarabant, non esse diffidentes nisi qui triunum Deum colerent.

"In comitiis 1658, rex nuntium, quia secte arianorum erat, ad manus osculum admittere nolebat; et nuntii inter se constituebant, ne ipsorum conclavi arianus locus esset." Jus Pub. II. 567. & seq.

For the extirpation of the arian sect, John Casimir was dignified by the pope with the title of orthodox, as if orthodoxy consisted in persecution.

Taufenz animis caelestibus ira!

This

This persecution of the arians, inadvertently assented to by the protestants and Greeks, was only a prelude to that which they in their turn suffered from the catholics: for, as the catholic party became the most powerful, the term dissidents, now confined only to persons professing the protestant* and Greek religions, began to grow of a less inoffensive import, and to convey an idea of non-conformity. The sectaries distinguished by the appellation of dissidents, perceiving the intention of the catholics to undermine their privileges, stipulated and obtained, that they should not be blended with the arians, or fall under the penal laws enacted against that sect. But these promises were insensibly eluded, their privileges were gradually diminished; in the course of a few years they were subjected to a variety of disqualifications, and at length, in 1733, formally incapacitated from sitting in the diet†. An old law of Ladislaus II. against heretics, as well as the penalties levelled against the arians, were revived, and occasionally put in force against the dissidents.

These continued persecutions greatly diminished the number of dissidents, and rendered of course their remonstrances ineffectual. The catholics, who now took the lead in the diet, went so far as to declare it high treason in the dissidents to seek the restoration of their immunities by the intercession of foreign powers; although many of these foreign powers were guarantees to the treaty of Oliva, in which

* Namely, the Lutherans and Calvinists; all other protestant sects, * the Mennonites, anabaptists, and quakers, being not included among the dissidents: and the per-

secuting laws enacted against the arians are in full force against them. Pac. Con. Aug. III. p. 28, 29.

† Lengnich, Hist. Pol. p. 376.

BOOK I. it was stipulated, that the rights of the diffidants should be maintained in their full latitude *.

Such was the situation of the diffidants at the accession of his present majesty ; who, though himself strongly inclined to toleration, was yet obliged to concur with the general sense of the diet ; and to confirm in their full extent all the laws which had been promulgated against them. The diffidants applied to the courts of London, Petersburg, Berlin, and Copenhagen, as the mediating powers in the treaty of Oliva ; who warmly supported their cause, and presented memorials to the ensuing diet, demanding a restoration not only of their religious establishments, but also of all their ancient privileges secured to them by the abovementioned treaty. The diet of 1766, however, was not of a temper to accede to these proposals.

The enemies of toleration contended, that the privileges alluded to were become obsolete, having been repeatedly abolished in various diets ; and that the diffidants had no well-founded claim either to the restitution of their civil immunities, or to the toleration of their worship : the bishop of Cracow, the most bigotted of the catholics, even proposed a law against all who should abet the opposite party. Violent altercations arose in the assembly, when the Prussian and Russian memorials were read ; and as an immediate tumult was apprehended, the king retired from the diet without proroguing it, as usual, to the following day. The primate likewise refused to continue the sitting, and the members separated in great disorder. On the subsequent day the spirit of intolerance was in no degree abated ; the moderate party

* For the account of the Diffidants, see Lengnich, Pac. Con. Aug. III. 16—30. and Jus Publ. sparim.

was over-ruled, and the acts against the dissidents were confirmed without reserve. But, in order to conciliate the mediating powers, the bench of bishops, by command of the diet, drew up nine articles in favour of the dissidents, relative to the free exercise of their worship. These concessions not being thought sufficiently favourable, while the exceptionable laws remained unrepealed, the Empress of Russia remonstrated against the proceedings of the diet; and the dissidents began to form confederacies in different parts of the kingdom. They were joined by many discontented catholics, and assisted by a large body of Russian troops, who entered Thorn, where the first and principal confederacy took its rise. All the mediating powers, Great-Britain, Denmark, Prussia, and Sweden, testified their approbation of these confederacies. The disputes soon began to embrace other objects beside religion; political grievances were likewise brought forward; and several confederacies started up in different parts of the kingdom among the catholic nobles; all of whom affected to be advocates for toleration, and declared their intentions of supporting the cause of the dissidents. Prince Radzivil, who had signalized himself in opposing the king's election, was appointed marshal to all the catholic confederacies, united in one formidable association under the appellation of malecontents. The coalition of this catholic confederacy, with that of the dissidents, soon after took place in the palace of prince Radzivil at Warsaw. Mean while the king convoked an extraordinary diet, as the only probable means to prevent a civil war, and to appease the Empress of Russia, whose troops were advanced within a small distance of Warsaw. The diet, however, which was summoned for the purpose of reconciling the opposite parties, failed in producing the intended effect: the bishop of Cracow and his partisans

BOOK I. partisans inveighed with such bitterness against the pretensions of the dissidents and against the interference of foreign powers; that he, together with the bishop of Kiof and a few others, the most violent of their party, were arrested in the night by a corps of Russian troops, and sent, without further trial, to Russia, where they experienced a rigorous imprisonment.

The

* The bishop of Cracow and his associates were arrested on the 15th of October, 1767; they were detained in prison above five years, not being released before the beginning of 1773. They were first confined at Smolensko, and afterwards at Kaluga. The following extracts from some manuscript letters in my possession give some account of their imprisonment, and of the bishop's return:

"At first their confinement was very rigorous, and particularly in their journey to Smolensko; for although they were conducted together, and then imprisoned at the same place, yet they were never permitted to see each other during the first six months. Afterwards they were less rigorously treated. They were removed from Smolensko on suspicion of a correspondence between the bishop of Cracow and his partisans in Lithuania; and although this suspicion was not founded, yet it occasioned the resolution adopted by the court of Petersburg to transport them to Kaluga." Warlaw, 15 February, 1773. "The bishop of Cracow is already arrived: he had dispatched an express from Minsk to the Great Chancellor of the crown to announce his return on the 14th. The express came on Thursday afternoon, and was followed by another the next day with the news, that the bishop himself was on his route; and in effect he arrived at five in the afternoon. In the suburbs of Praga, being met by the pope's nuntio, together with the bishops of Cujavia and Posenania, he

"quitted his own carriage, and got into that of the bishop of Posenania, into whose palace he alighted at Warlaw. He was accompanied by persons of the first distinction, and followed by a crowd of people, huzzaing as he passed the streets; some out of affection, others from imitation, or excited by secret emissaries. The doors of the palace being open to all who chose to enter, the apartments were immediately filled with persons of all ranks, bishops, senators, ministers and officers of state, nobles, priests, citizens, together with the lowest of the populace, and even beggars, all huddled together pell-mell, eager to behold, listen to, and applaud the bishop, who had so unexpectedly made his appearance. He spoke for a considerable time, and related the history of his imprisonment, which he assured them had not made any alteration in his sentiments of religion and liberty. 'I have been twice,' added he, 'arrested by the Russians, the first time with the primate Potolki, the second at my late confinement, and perhaps I may yet be cast into prison a third time.'

"He proposes to retire in a short time to his diocese, and it is reported that he intends to forbid the priests from wearing wigs and ruffles: he himself wears neither. His hair is grown grey since his confinement, and he looks considerably older: he covers his head with a red cap which he made himself.

"Yesterday he had an audience of the king, with whom he remained a full hour, namely,

The diet, intimidated by the fate of their leading members, and being no longer inflamed by their eloquence, appointed, though not without some altercation and tumult, a grand committee to adjust the affairs of the dissidents in conjunction with the mediating powers, and then broke up. This grand committee expressed the most favourable disposition towards the dissidents, and proposed that all the laws enacted against them should be repealed, and their antient privileges restored. These resolutions being laid before the extraordinary diet, which was convened the beginning of the following year, 1768, were ratified almost without opposition. This ready and unanimous acquiescence of the diet in regulations, totally repugnant to the sentiments of the majority, can only be accounted for by the dread of the Russian troops quartered in Warsaw, and the influence of bribes judiciously distributed by the Russian minister. The operation of the same causes rendered the diet equally compliant in other particulars; and induced them to establish several * civil regulations,

"namely, from eleven to twelve. He addressed his majesty with great decency and respect; and, among other things, begged pardon, if, before his arrest, he had expressed himself either in a manner or in terms which were displeasing, assuring him at the same time of his attachment, fidelity, and zeal for the service of his king, and the good of his country. After the audience he attended mass, and presented his majesty with the New Testament, acquitting himself of that ceremony with propriety and decorum.

"The bishop of Kiof having separated from the bishop of Cracow on the other side of Minsk, will not be here for some time. The palatine of Cracow and his son continue between Smolensko and Kaluga, the place of their confinement; in order to attend upon Colonel Bachmatou, their conductor, who was taken ill upon

"their journey. The palatine, willing to repay with gratitude and humanity the attention which he received from the colonel during his confinement, could not be prevailed upon to quit him in his illness; and as he has some knowledge of physic, he is in hopes of completing his cure."

* These regulations, which respect chiefly the establishing in perpetuity of the elective monarchy, of the Liskerum Veto, and of unanimity in all matters of state, are all detailed in the articles of the diet of 1768, published at Warsaw: the principal clauses are the same as are mentioned in the fourth chapter of this book relative to the changes made in the constitution in 1775; the reader will find them amply mentioned and accompanied with some judicious remarks, in Lind's Present State of Poland, Letter III.

BOOK tending to perpetuate the defects of the constitution, and
I. which had no other recommendation except their subservi-
 ency to the Russian designs upon Poland.

The nation at large seemed at this juncture to have caught the submissive spirit of the diet; and received the new edicts with every symptom of cordiality. Poland seemed to enjoy for a moment an universal tranquillity; but it was that fullen tranquillity which precedes a tempest, and announces to the intelligent observer the most violent commotions.

During these transactions, the king, without influence, and consequently without a shadow of authority, was one while hurried down the popular current; and the next moment forced by the mediating powers to accede to all the conditions which they laid before him: a wretched situation for a prince of his spirit and magnanimity, and below which it is scarcely possible for any sovereign to be reduced. But more grievous scenes yet awaited the unfortunate monarch; he was doomed to behold his country torn to pieces by the most dreadful of all calamities, a religious war; to be frequently deprived almost of common necessaries; and to be indebted for his very subsistence to the voluntary contributions of his friends: to be little better than a state prisoner in his capital; to be carried off and nearly assassinated; to see his fairest provinces wrested from him; and, finally, to depend, for his own security and that of his subjects, upon the protection of those very powers, who had dismembered his empire.

The Polish malecontents could certainly alledge some very plausible causes of dissatisfaction. The laws passed at the last diet bore a greater resemblance to the absolute mandates of a Russian viceroy, than to the resolutions of a free assembly.

The outrage committed upon the bishop of Cracow and his adherents entirely subverted all liberty of debate. While the authoritative manner, in which the mediating powers of Berlin and Petersburg still continued to interfere in the affairs of Poland, threatened a more grievous subjection. These specious grounds of disgust, joined to an ill-timed spirit of discontent which had gone forth throughout the nation against the king, occasioned the intestine commotions that soon reduced Poland to the most dreadful state of desolation.

The diet had not long been dissolved, before the indulgences granted to the dissidents first excited a general discontent among the Roman catholic party: several confederacies made their appearance towards the frontiers of the Turkish empire in defence of the sacred catholic faith; they carried standards before them highly calculated to inflame the zeal of the populace; upon some of these standards images of the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus were delineated; upon others the spread eagle of Poland, with the mottos "Conquest or Death," "For religion and liberty *." Some banners bore as a device a red cross, under which was inscribed "the symbol of victory." The private soldiers of the confederacy, like the crusaders of old, wore a cross interwoven in their clothes. One party of these insurgents seized upon the fortress of Bar in Podolia, and another got possession of Cracow. The royal troops, who were sent against them, were either routed or prevailed upon to join them. In this dreadful crisis of affairs the senate petitioned the ambassador from the court of Petersburg not to withdraw the Russian troops from the kingdom, as they afforded the only security against the confederates: the request was

* Aut vincere aut mori.—Pro religione et libertate.

BOOK I. readily complied with, and Poland became a scene of bloodshed and devastation. In the various conflicts between the two parties, the superiority of Russian discipline generally prevailed. The confederates, however, at first secretly encouraged by the house of Austria, assisted by the Turks, and supplied with money and officers by the French, were able to protract hostilities from the dissolution of the diet in 1768, to the division of Poland in 1773. To enter into a detail of military operations falls not within the design of this work. From the various acts of cruelty and revenge which distinguish and disgrace this part of the Polish history, I shall select only one event too remarkable to be omitted; I allude to the attempt made by the confederates to assassinate the king.

The following circumstantial account of this singular occurrence was communicated to me by my ingenious friend Nathaniel Wraxal Esq; whose name is well known in the literary world; and who, during his residence at Warsaw, obtained the most authentic information upon so interesting a transaction: as he has obligingly permitted me to enrich my work with this narration, I am happy to lay it before the reader in his own words.

C H A P. III.

Attempt to assassinate the king of Poland.—His majesty attacked by the conspirators in the streets of Warsaw, wounded, and carried off.—His adventures and miraculous escape.—Return to Warsaw.—Account and fate of the principal conspirators.

“ **I**N the midst of these turbulent and disastrous scenes, the confederates (who ever considered the king as unlawfully elected, and who imputed to his fatal elevation and direction, or approbation, all the various ills under which the kingdom groaned from the Russian oppression) planned and executed one of the most daring enterprizes of which modern history makes mention. I mean the attempt to assassinate the king. It is somewhat remarkable, that in an age so humanised, so free from the enormous and flagitious crimes common in barbarous centuries, so enlightened as is the present; this is the third attempt on a crowned head in my remembrance. Louis XV. Joseph I. of Portugal, and Stanislaus Augustus, all narrowly escaped assassination. As the attempt on his Polish majesty was perhaps the most atrocious, and his escape certainly the most extraordinary and incredible of the three, I shall be as minute as possible in the enumeration of all the principal circumstances which led to, and which attended this remarkable event.

CHAP.
III.

“ A Polish nobleman, named Pulaski, a general in the army of the confederates, was the person who planned the
“ atrocious

BOOK I. "atrocious enterprize; and the conspirators who carried it
 "into execution were about forty in number, and were
 "headed by three chiefs, named Lubawski, Strawenski, and
 "Kofinski. These three chiefs had been engaged and hired
 "to that purpose by Pulaski, who in the town of Czetscho-
 "kow in Great Poland obliged them to swear in the most
 "solemn manner, by placing their hands between his, either
 "to deliver the king alive into his hands, or, in case that was
 "impossible, to put him to death. The three chiefs chose
 "thirty-seven persons to accompany them. On the 2d of
 "November, about a month after they had quitted Czes-
 "chow, they obtained admision into Warsaw unsuspected
 "or undiscovered by the following stratagem. They dis-
 "guised themselves as peasants who came to sell hay, and
 "artfully concealed their saddles, arms, and cloaths under
 "the loads of hay which they brought in waggons, the more
 "effectually to escape detection.

"On Sunday night, the 3d of September, 1771, a few of
 "these conspirators remained in the skirts of the town; and
 "the others repaired to the place of rendezvous, the street of
 "the Capuchins, where his majesty was expected to pass by
 "about his usual hour of returning to the palace. The king
 "had been to visit his uncle prince Zartoriski, grand chancel-
 "lor of Lithuania, and was at his return from thence to the
 "palace between nine and ten o'clock. He was in a coach,
 "accompanied by at least fifteen or sixteen attendants, beside
 "an aid-de-camp in the carriage: scarce was he at the dis-
 "tance of two hundred paces from prince Czartoriski's pa-
 "lace, when he was attacked by the conspirators, who com-
 "manded the coachman to stop on pain of instant death.
 "They fired several shot into the carriage, one of which
 "passed through the body of a heyduc, who endeavoured to
 "defend

“ defend his master from the violence of the assassins. AI-
 “ most all the other persons * who preceded and accompa- CHAP.
 “ nished his majesty were dispersed; the aid-de-camp aban- III.
 “ doned him, and attempted to conceal himself by flight.
 “ Mean while the king had opened the door of his carriage
 “ with the design of effecting his escape under shelter of the
 “ night, which was extremely dark. He had even alighted,
 “ when the assassins seized him by the hair, exclaiming in
 “ Polish with horrible execrations, ‘ We have thee now; thy
 “ hour is come.’ One of them discharged a pistol at him so
 “ very near, that he felt the heat of the flash; while another
 “ cut him across the head with his sabre, which penetrated
 “ to the bone. They then laid hold of his majesty by the
 “ collar, and, mounting on horseback, dragged him along
 “ the ground between their horses at full gallop for near five
 “ hundred paces through the streets of Warsaw †.

“ All was confusion and disorder during this time at the
 “ palace, where the attendants who had deserted their master
 “ had spread the alarm. The foot-guards ran immediately
 “ to the spot from whence the king had been conveyed, but
 “ they found only his hat all bloody, and his bag: this in-

* “ It is incredible that such a number
 “ of persons as were with his Polish majesty
 “ on that memorable night, should all so
 “ basely abandon him, except the single
 “ heyduc who was killed, and who so
 “ bravely defended his master. This man
 “ was a protestant; he was not killed on
 “ the spot, but expired next morning of his
 “ wounds. The king allows a pension to
 “ his widow and children.”

† “ It is astonishing, that, in the number
 “ of balls which passed through the carriage,
 “ not one should hurt or wound the king.
 “ Several went through his *pelisse*, or fur
 “ great-coat. I have seen this cloak, and
 “ the holes made in it by the pistol bullets.

“ Every part of the cloaths which his ma-
 “ jesty wore on that night are carefully pre-
 “ served. It is no less wonderful, that
 “ when the assassins had seized on the king,
 “ they should carry him through such a
 “ number of streets without being stopped.
 “ A Russian centinel did hail them, but, as
 “ they answered in Russian, he allowed them
 “ to pass, imagining them to be a patrol of
 “ his nation. This happened at some distance
 “ from the place where they had carried off
 “ the king. The night was besides exceed-
 “ ingly dark, and Warsaw has no lamps.
 “ All these circumstances contribute to ac-
 “ count for this extraordinary event.”

“ creased

BOOK I. "creased their apprehensions for his life. The whole city
 "was in an uproar. The assassins profited of the universal
 "confusion, terror, and consternation, to bear away their
 "prize. Finding, however, that he was incapable of follow-
 "ing them on foot, and that he had already almost lost his
 "respiration from the violence with which they had dragged
 "him, they set him on horseback; and then redoubled
 "their speed for fear of being overtaken. When they came
 "to the ditch which surrounds Warsaw, they obliged him
 "to leap his horse over. In the attempt the horse fell twice,
 "and at the second fall broke its leg. They then mounted
 "his majesty upon another, all covered as he was with dirt.

"The conspirators had no sooner crossed the ditch, than
 "they began to rifle the king, tearing off the order * of the
 "Black Eagle of Prussia which he wore round his neck, and
 "the diamond cross hanging to it. He requested them to
 "leave him his handkerchief, which they consented to: his
 "pocket-book escaped their rapacity.

"A great number of the assassins retired after having
 "thus plundered him, probably with intent to notify to their
 "respective leaders the success of their enterprise; and the
 "king's arrival as a prisoner. Only seven remained with
 "him, of whom Kosinski was the chief. The night was
 "exceedingly dark; they were absolutely ignorant of the
 "way; and, as the horses could not keep their legs, they
 "obliged his majesty to follow them on foot, with only one
 "shoe, the other being lost in the dirt.

* "It was Lukawski, one of the three
 "chiefs of the band, who tore off the rib-
 "bon of the Black Eagle, which his Prussian
 "majesty had conferred on the king when
 "he was Count Poniatowski. One of his
 "motives for doing this, was by shewing

"the order of the Black Eagle to Pulaski
 "and the confederates, to prove to them
 "incontestibly that the king was in their
 "hands, and on his way. Lukawski was
 "afterwards executed."

"They

“ They continued to wander through the open meadows, without following any certain path, and without getting to any distance from Warsaw. They again mounted the king on horseback, two of them holding him on each side by the hand, and a third leading his horse by the bridle. In this manner they were proceeding, when his majesty, finding they had taken the road which led to a village called Burakow, warned them not to enter it, because there were some Russians stationed in that place who might probably attempt to rescue him *. Finding himself, however, incapable of accompanying the assassins in the painful posture in which they held him kept down on the saddle, he requested them, since they were determined to oblige him to proceed, at least to give him another horse and a boot †. This request they complied with ; and continuing their progress through almost impassable lands, without any road, and ignorant of their way, they at length found themselves in the wood of Bielany, only a league distant from Warsaw. From the time they had passed the ditch

* “ This intimation, which the king gave to his assassins, may at first sight appear extraordinary and unaccountable, but was really dictated by the greatest address and judgment. He apprehended with reason, that, on the sight of a Russian guard, they would instantly put him to death with their sabres, and fly ; whereas by informing them of the danger they incurred, he in some measure gained their confidence : in effect, this behaviour of the king seemed to soften them a little, and made them believe he did not mean to escape from them.”

† The king, in his speech to the diet on the trial of the conspirators, interceded strongly for Kofinski, or John Kutsuma, to whom he gratefully expresses himself in-

debted for these favours in the following words :

“ As I was in the hands of the assassins, I heard them repeatedly ask John Kutsuma, if they should not assassinate me, but he always prevented them. He was the first who persuaded them to behave to me with greater gentleness ; and obliged them to confer upon me some services which I then greatly wanted ; namely, one to give me a cap, and a second a boot, which at that time were no trifling presents : for the cold air greatly affected the wound in my head ; and my foot, which was covered with blood, gave me inexpressible torture, which continued every moment increasing.”

BOOK I. " they repeatedly demanded of Kofinski their chief, if it was
 " not yet time to put the king to death ; and these demands
 " were reiterated in proportion to the obstacles and difficulties
 " they encountered.

" Meanwhile the confusion and consternation increased at
 " Warsaw. The guards were afraid to pursue the conspi-
 " rators, lest terror of being overtaken should prompt them
 " in the darkness to massacre the king ; and on the other hand,
 " by not pursuing they might give them time to escape with
 " their prize, beyond the possibility of assistance. Several of
 " the first nobility at length mounted on horseback, and fol-
 " lowing the track of the assassins, arrived at the place where
 " his majesty had passed the ditch. There they found his
 " *pelisse*, which he had lost in the precipitation with which
 " he was hurried away : it was bloody, and pierced with
 " holes made by the balls or sabres. This convinced them
 " that he was no more.

" The king was still in the hands of the seven remaining
 " assassins, who advanced with him into the wood of Bielany,
 " when they were suddenly alarmed by a Russian patrol or
 " detachment. Instantly holding council, four of them dis-
 " appeared, leaving him with the other three, who com-
 " pelled him to walk on. Scarce a quarter of an hour after
 " a second Russian guard challenged them a-new. Two of
 " the assassins then fled, and the king remained alone with
 " Kofinski the chief, both on foot. His majesty, exhausted
 " with all the fatigue which he had undergone, implored his
 " conductor to stop, and suffer him to take a moment's repose.
 " Kofinski refused it, menacing him with his naked sabre ;
 " and at the same time informed him, that beyond the wood
 " they should find a carriage. They continued their walk,
 " till they came to the door of the convent of Bielany. Ko-
 " finski

“ *finſki* appeared loſt in thought, and ſo much agitated by
 “ his reflections, that the king perceiving his diſorder, and
 “ obſerving that he wandered without knowing the road,
 “ ſaid to him, ‘ I ſee you are at a loſs which way to proceed.
 “ Let me enter the convent of Bielany, and do you provide
 “ for your own ſafety. ‘ No,’ replied *Koſiński*, ‘ I have
 “ ſworn.’

“ They proceeded till they came to Mariemont, a ſmall
 “ palace belonging to the houſe of Saxony, not above half a
 “ league from Warſaw : here *Koſiński* betrayed ſome ſatis-
 “ faction at finding where he was, and the king ſtill de-
 “ manding an inſtant’s reſpoſe, he conſented at length. They
 “ ſat down together on the ground, and the king employed
 “ theſe moments in endeavouring to ſoften his conductor,
 “ and induce him to favour or permit his eſcape. His ma-
 “ jeſty repreſented the atrocity of the crime he had commit-
 “ ted in attempting to murder his ſovereign, and the invali-
 “ dity of an oath taken to perpetrate ſo heinous an action :
 “ *Koſiński* lent attention to this diſcourſe, and began to be-
 “ tray ſome marks of remorse. ‘ But,’ ſaid he, ‘ if I ſhould
 “ conſent and reconduct you to Warſaw, what will be the
 “ conſequence?—I ſhall be taken and executed !’

“ This reflection plunged him into new uncertainty and
 “ embarraſſment. ‘ I give you my word,’ answered his ma-
 “ jeſty, ‘ that you ſhall ſuffer no harm ; but if you doubt
 “ my promiſe, eſcape while there is yet time. I can find
 “ my way to ſome place of ſecurity : and I will certainly di-
 “ rect your purſuers to take the contrary road to that which
 “ you have choſen.’ *Koſiński* could not any longer contain
 “ himſelf, but, throwing himſelf at the king’s feet, implored
 “ forgiveness for the crime he had committed ; and ſwore to
 “ protect him againſt every enemy, relying totally on his
 “ generoſity

BOOK I. "generosity for pardon and preservation. His majesty reiterated to him his assurances of safety. Judging, however, that it was prudent to gain some asylum without delay, and recollecting that there was a mill at some considerable distance, he immediately made towards it. Kosinski knocked, but in vain; no answer was given: he then broke a pane of glass in the window, and implored for shelter to a nobleman who had been plundered by robbers. The miller refused, supposing them to be banditti, and continued for more than half an hour to persist in his denial. At length the king approached, and speaking through the broken pane, endeavoured to persuade him to admit them under his roof, adding, 'If we were robbers, as you suppose, it would be very easy for us to break the whole window, instead of one pane of glass.' This argument prevailed. They at length opened the door, and admitted his majesty. He immediately wrote a note to General Coccei, colonel of the foot guards. It was literally as follows: 'Par une espece de miracle je suis sauvé des mains des assassins. Je suis ici au petit moulin de Mariemont. Venez au plutôt me tirer d'ici. Je suis blessé, mais pas fort *.' It was with the greatest difficulty, however, that the king could persuade any one to carry this note to Warsaw, as the people of the mill, imagining that he was a nobleman who had just been plundered by robbers, were afraid of falling in with the troop. Kosinski then offered to restore every thing he had taken; but his majesty left him all, except the blue ribbon of the White Eagle.

* "By a kind of miracle I am escaped from the hands of assassins. I am now at the mill of Mariemont. Come as soon

"as possible, and take me from hence. I am wounded, but not dangerously."

"When

“ When the messenger arrived with the note, the astonish-
 “ ment and joy was incredible. Coccei instantly rode to the
 “ mill, followed by a detachment of the guards. He met
 “ Kofinski at the door with his sabre drawn, who admitted
 “ him as soon as he knew him. The king had sunk into a
 “ sleep, caused by his fatigue; and was stretched on the
 “ ground, covered with the miller’s cloak. Coccei imme-
 “ diately threw himself at his majesty’s feet, calling him his
 “ sovereign, and kissing his hand. It is not easy to paint
 “ or describe the astonishment of the miller and his family,
 “ who instantly imitated Coccei’s example, by throwing
 “ themselves on their knees *. The king returned to War-
 “ saw in General Coccei’s carriage, and reached the palace
 “ about five in the morning. His wound was found not to
 “ be dangerous, and he soon recovered the bruises and in-
 “ juries, which he had suffered during this memorable night.

“ So extraordinary an escape is scarce to be paralleled in
 “ history, and affords ample matter of wonder and surprise.
 “ Scarce could the nobility or people at Warsaw credit the
 “ evidence of their senses, when they saw him return. Cer-
 “ tainly neither the escape of the king of France from Da-
 “ mien, or of the king of Portugal from the conspiracy of the
 “ Duke d’Aveiro, were equally amazing or improbable, as
 “ that of the king of Poland. I have related it very minutely,
 “ and from authorities the highest and most incontestible.

“ It is natural to inquire what is become of Kofinski, the
 “ man who saved his majesty’s life, and the other conspira-
 “ tors. He was born in the palatinate of Cracow, and of
 “ mean extraction: having assumed the name of Kofinski †,

* “ I have been at this mill, rendered
 “ memorable by so singular an event. It is
 “ a wretched Polish hovel, at a distance from
 “ any house. The king has rewarded the

“ miller to the extent of his wishes in build-
 “ ing him a mill upon the Vistula, and allow-
 “ ing him a small pension.”

† His real name was John Kutina.

BOOK " which is that of a noble family, to give himself credit.

I. " He had been created an officer in the troops of the confederates under Pulaski. It would seem as if Kosinski began to entertain the idea of preserving the king's life from the time when Lukawski and Strawenski abandoned him; yet he had great struggles with himself before he could resolve on this conduct, after the solemn engagements into which he had entered. Even after he had conducted the king back to Warsaw, he expressed more than once his doubts of the propriety of what he had done, and some remorse for having deceived his employers.

" Lukawski and Strawenski were both taken, and several of the other assassins. At his majesty's peculiar request and intreaty, the diet remitted the capital punishment of the inferior conspirators, and condemned them to work for life on the fortifications of Kaminiac, where they now are. By his intercession likewise with the diet, the horrible punishment and various modes of torture, which the laws of Poland decree and inflict on regicides, were mitigated; and both Lukawski and Strawenski were only simply beheaded. Kosinski was detained under a very strict confinement, and obliged to give evidence against his two companions. A person of distinction, who saw them both die, has assured me, that nothing could be more noble and manly than all Lukawski's conduct previous to his death. When he was carried to the place of execution, although his body was almost extenuated by the severity of his confinement, diet, and treatment, his spirit unsubdued raised him above the terrors of an infamous and public execution. He had not been permitted to shave his beard while in prison, and his dress was squalid to the greatest degree; yet none of these humiliations could depress his mind. With a grandeur

“ of foul worthy of a better cause, but which it is impossible
 “ not to admire, he refused to see or embrace the traitor
 “ Kosiński. When conducted to the scene of execution,
 “ which was about a mile from Warsaw, he betrayed no
 “ emotions of terror or unmanly fear. He made a short
 “ harangue to the multitude assembled upon the occasion,
 “ in which, he by no means expressed any sorrow for his past
 “ conduct, or contrition for his attempt on the king, which
 “ he probably regarded as meritorious and patriotic. His
 “ head was severed from his body.

“ Strawieński was beheaded at the same time, but he nei-
 “ ther harangued the people, or shewed any signs of contri-
 “ tion. Pulaski, who commanded one of the many corps
 “ of confederate Poles then in arms, and who was the great
 “ agent and promoter of the assassination, is still alive*,
 “ though an outlaw and an exile. He is said, even by the
 “ Russians his enemies, to possess military talents of a very
 “ superior nature; nor were they ever able to take him pri-
 “ soner during the civil war.

“ To return to Kosiński, the man who saved the king's
 “ life. About a week after Lukowski and Strawieński's ex-
 “ ecution, he was sent by his majesty out of Poland. He
 “ now resides at Semigallia in the papal territories, where he
 “ enjoys an annual pension from the king.

“ A circumstance almost incredible, and which seems to
 “ breathe all the sanguinary bigotry of the 16th century, I
 “ cannot omit. It is that the papal nuncio in Poland, in-
 “ spired with a furious zeal against the dissidents, whom he
 “ believed to be protected by the king, not only approved

* After the conclusion of these troubles, Pulaski escaped from Poland, and repaired to America: he distinguished himself in the

American service, and was killed in forcing the British Lines at the siege of Savannah in 1779.

BOOK 1. "the scheme for assassinating his majesty, but blessed the
 " weapons of the conspirators at Czeszochow, previous to their
 " setting out on their expedition. This is a trait indisputa-
 " bly true, and scarcely to be exceeded by any thing under
 " the reign of Charles IX. of France, and of his mother Ca-
 " tharine of Medicis."

In addition to Mr. Wraxall's account I am enabled to add the following circumstances :

Upon General Goccei's arrival at the mill, the first question which his majesty asked was, whether any of his attendants had suffered from the assassins ; and upon being informed that one of the heyducs was killed upon the spot, and another dangerously wounded, his mind, naturally feeling, now rendered more susceptible by his late danger, was greatly affected ; and his joy at his own escape was considerably diminished.

Upon his return to Warsaw, the streets through which he passed were illumined with torches, and crowded by an immense concourse of people, who followed him to the palace, crying out incessantly " The king is alive." Upon his entering the palace, the doors were flung open, and persons of all ranks were admitted to approach his person, and to felicitate him upon his escape. The scene, as I have been informed by several of the nobility who were present, was affecting beyond description. Every one struggled to get near him, to kiss his hand, or even to touch his cloaths : all were so transported with joy, that they even loaded Kosinski with caresses, and called him the saviour of their king. His majesty was so affected with these signs of zeal and affection, that he expressed in the most feeling manner his strong sense of these proofs of their attachment, and declared it was the happiest hour of his whole life. In this moment of rapture he

he forgot the dangers he had avoided, and the wounds he had received ; and as every one seemed anxious to learn the circumstances of his escape, he would not suffer his wounds to be inspected and dressed before he had himself satisfied their impatience, by relating the difficulties and dangers he had undergone. During the recital, a person unacquainted with the language might have discovered the various events of the story from the changes of expression in the countenances of the bystanders, which displayed the most sudden alterations from terror to compassion, from compassion to astonishment, and from astonishment to rapture ; while the universal silence was only broken by sighs and tears of joy.

The king having finished the account, again repeated his assurances of gratitude and affection for the unfeigned proofs they had given of their love and attachment ; and dismissed them, by adding, that he hoped he had been thus miraculously preserved by Divine Providence, for no other purpose than to pursue with additional zeal the good of his country, which had ever been the great object of his attention.

Being now left alone, his majesty permitted the surgeons to examine the wound in his head. Upon cutting away the skin, it appeared that the bone was hurt, but not dangerously ; from the quantity of clotted blood, the operation of dressing was tedious and painful, and was submitted to by the king with great patience and magnanimity. The surgeons proposed at first to bleed him in the foot ; but they laid aside this intention upon finding both his feet swollen considerably, and covered with blisters and bruises.

The family of the heyduc, who had saved the king's life by the loss of his own, was amply provided for : his body was buried with great pomp ; and his majesty erected an hand-

BOOK I. some monument to his memory, with an elegant inscription expressive of the man's fidelity and of his own gratitude.

I saw the monument: it is a pyramid standing upon a sarcophagus, with a Latin and Polish inscription; the former I copied, and it is as follows.

"Hic jacet Georgius Henricus Butzau, qui regem Stanislau Augustum nefariis parricidorum telis impeditum, die 111 Nov. 1771, proprii pectoris clypeo defendens, geminatis ictibus confossus, gloriose occubuit. Fidelis subditi necem lugens, Rex posuit hocce monumentum illius in laudem, aliis exemplo *"

* "Here lies George Henry Butzau, who, on the 3d of November, 1771, opposing his own breast to shield Stanislaus Augustus from the weapons of nefarious parricides, was pierced with repeated

wounds, and gloriously expired. The king, lamenting the death of a faithful subject, erected this monument, as a tribute to him, and an incentive to others."

C H A P. IV.

Account of the plan and progress of the partition of Poland.—Projected by the king of Prussia.—Adopted by the emperor of Germany, and finally acceded to by the empress of Russia.—The consent of the king and diet of Poland extorted after great opposition.—Changes in the government introduced by the partitioning powers.—Spirited, but fruitless, resistance of the Polish delegates.—Fate of the dissidents.

WE are now arrived at that remarkable event of the present reign, the partition of Poland; which was planned with such profound secrecy, that it was scarcely suspected before it was carried into execution. Poland had long derived its principal security from its peculiar situation between three great powers, each equally interested to prevent the others from acquiring any increase of strength, or addition of territory: the union of these rival potentates was considered as a circumstance nearly impossible; and should such an unexpected union take place, it was thought incredible that the other princes of Europe would passively submit to a material alteration in the balance of power.

Treaties upon treaties, and negotiations upon negotiations had guaranteed to Poland the possession of her territory; and the very three powers who dismembered her provinces, had, at the present king's accession, solemnly renounced all right and title to any part of the Polish dominions. But treaties and guarantees are in general only adhered to until they can be broken with safety: the only effectual method for any state

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BOOK I. to secure its dominions, is to make itself respectable by its strength and unanimity, and to be prepared against any attacks. When a powerful people impute national disasters, which a proper vigour and foresight might have prevented, to the perfidy of foreign states, they only bear testimony, in more specious terms, to their own indolence, negligence, or weakness of government. Nor is that systematical jealousy, which modern nations profess to entertain for the balance of power, to be depended on as a more effectual safeguard to any particular state, than the faith of treaties. This principle, though founded on the most obvious and judicious policy, and though at times productive of the most beneficial effects, is unluckily liable to be counteracted and defeated by an almost innumerable variety of contingencies. Where a combination of different powers is requisite to give efficacy to this principle, those powers may want unanimity and concert; where again the exertion of only a single state is sufficient, that state may, by the temporary situation of affairs, or the casual interests of its governing party, be rendered incapable of acting with proper spirit. In a word, the anxiety of European states for the preservation of the balance of power is, by no means, an invariable pledge of protection to any single nation. Venice was brought to the verge of ruin by a reliance on this principle; Poland received from it no substantial protection; nor did England, though struggling singly against a host of enemies, reap, in her late contest, the slightest benefit from its influence.

The natural strength of Poland, if properly exerted, would have formed a more certain bulwark against the ambition of her neighbours, than the faith of treaties, or an attention, in the other European nations, to the balance of power. It is extremely worthy of remark, that of the three partitioning powers,

powers, Prussia * was formerly in a state of vassalage to the republic; Russia † once saw its capital and throne possessed by the Poles; while Austria, scarce a century ago, was indebted to a sovereign ‡ of this country for the preservation of its metropolis, and almost for its very existence.

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A kingdom, so lately the master or protector of its neighbours, would never have been so readily overwhelmed by them, without the most glaring imperfections in its government. Poland, in truth, formerly more powerful than any of the surrounding states, has, from the defects of its constitution, declined in the midst of general improvement; and, after giving law to the north, is become an easy prey to every invader.

The Partition of Poland was first projected by the king of Prussia. Polish or Western Prussia had long been an object of his ambition: exclusive of its fertility, commerce, and po-

* In the 13th century, all Prussia belonged to the knights of the Teutonic order. In 1454 that part, since denominated Polish or Western Prussia, revolted to Casimir IV. and was afterwards incorporated into the dominions of the republic; at the same time the knights were constrained to hold the remaining part, called Eastern Prussia, as a fief of the crown of Poland. In 1525 Eastern Prussia was erected into an hereditary duchy, and given to Albert of Brandenburg as a Polish fief. Upon his death it fell to his son Albert Frederic, who being impaired in his faculties, the administration was vested first in Joachim Frederic elector of Brandenburg, and afterwards in Joachim's son John Sigismond, who had married Albert's daughter. Upon the demise of Albert, without male heirs, John Sigismond, who succeeded to the duchy of Prussia, did homage for that duchy as a vassal of the republic. His grand-

son Frederic William, the great Elector, was the first duke of Prussia released from this badge of feudal dependence by John Casimir; Eastern Prussia being declared a sovereign, independent, and hereditary duchy.

Frederic, son of Frederic William the Great, assumed the title of King of Prussia, which however the Poles never acknowledged, until 1764, at the accession of Stanislaus Augustus. His present majesty Frederic II. by the partition treaty now possesses both Western and Eastern Prussia.

† Under Sigismond III. whose troops got possession of Moscow, and whose son Ladislaus was chosen great duke of Muscovy by a party of the Russian nobles.

‡ John Sobieski, who compelled the Turks to raise the siege of Vienna, and delivered the house of Austria from the greatest dangers it ever experienced.

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population, its local situation rendered it highly valuable to that monarch; it lay between his German dominions and Eastern Prussia, and while possessed by the Poles, cut off, at their will, all communication between them. During the course of the last general war, he experienced the most fatal effects from this disjointed state of his territories. By the acquisition of Western Prussia, his dominions would be rendered compact, and his troops in time of war be able to march from Berlin to Königsburgh without interruption. The period was now arrived, when the situation of Poland seemed to promise the attainment of this favourite object. He pursued it, however, with all the caution of an able politician. On the commencement of the troubles, he shewed no eagerness to interfere in the affairs of this country; and although he had concurred with the empress of Russia in raising Stanislaus Augustus to the throne of Poland; yet he declined taking any active part in his favour against the confederates. Afterwards, when the whole kingdom became convulsed throughout with civil commotions, and desolated likewise by the plague, he, under pretence of forming lines to prevent the spreading of the infection, advanced his troops into Polish Prussia, and occupied that whole district.

Though now completely master of the country, and by no means apprehensive of any formidable resistance from the disunited and distracted Poles, yet, as he was well aware that the security of his new acquisition depended upon the acquiescence of Prussia and Austria, he planned the Partition of Poland. He communicated the project to the emperor, either upon their interview at Neiss in Silesia, in 1769, or

in that of the following year, at Neustadt in Austria; from whom the overture met with a ready concurrence. Joseph, CHAP.
IV. who had before secretly encouraged the confederates, and even commenced a negotiation with the Porte against Russia, now suddenly altered his measures, and increased his army towards the Polish frontiers. The plague presenting to him, as well as to the king of Prussia, a specious motive for stationing troops in the dominions of the republic; he gradually extended his lines, and, in 1772, occupied the whole territory, which he has since dismembered. But, notwithstanding this change in his sentiments, his real views upon Poland were at first so effectually concealed, that the Polish rebels conceived that the Austrian army was advancing to act in their favour; not supposing it possible, that the rival courts of Vienna and Berlin could act in concert.

Nothing more remained towards completing the partition, than the accession of the empress of Russia. That great princess was too discerning a politician not to regard with a jealous eye the introduction of foreign powers in Poland. Possessing an uncontrouled ascendancy over the whole country, she could propose no material advantage from the formal acquisition of a part; and must purchase a moderate addition to her territory by a considerable surrender of authority. The king of Prussia, well acquainted with the true interests of Russia in regard to Poland, and with the capacity of the empress to discern those interests, forbore (it is said) opening any negotiation on the subject of the partition, until she was involved in a Turkish war. At that crisis he dispatched his brother Prince Henry to Petersburg, who suggested to the empress that the house of Austria was forming an alliance with the Porte, which, if it took place, would create a most formidable

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dable combination against her; that, nevertheless, the friendship of that house was to be purchased by acceding to the partition; that upon this condition the emperor was willing to renounce his connection with the Grand Signior, and would suffer the Russians to prosecute the war without interruption. Catharine, anxious to push her conquests against the Turks, and dreading the interposition of the emperor in that quarter; perceiving likewise, from the intimate union between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, that it would not be in her power, at the present juncture, to prevent the intended partition, closed with the proposal, and selected no inconsiderable portion of the Polish territories for herself. The treaty was signed at Petersburg in the beginning of February, 1772, by the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian plenipotentiaries.

As the troops of the three courts were already in possession of the greatest part of Poland, the confederates, hemmed in on all sides, were soon routed and dispersed; and Europe waited in anxious expectation what would be the issue of this unexpected union: yet such was the profound secrecy with which the partitioning powers proceeded, that for some time after the ratification of the treaty, only vague conjectures were entertained even at Warsaw* concerning their real intentions; and the late lord Cathcart, the English minister at Petersburg,

was

* I have a collection of MS. letters written from Warsaw before and after the partition: the following passages from those letters will shew the mysterious conduct of the three courts, and the uncertainty of the Poles concerning the dismemberment.

“ On cache à Vienne les vrais motifs et le but de la prochaine entrée des troupes en Pologne,” &c. May 6, 1772.

All the letters speak of the apprehensions of dismemberment; but the first which mentions it with any certainty is dated May

was able to obtain no authentic information of its signature, until two months after the event.

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The first formal notification of any pretensions to the Polish territory was in the month of September, 1772, announced to the king and senate assembled at Warsaw, by the Imperial ambassador; which was soon followed by the memorials of the Russian and Prussian courts, specifying their respective claims. It would be tedious to enter into a detail of the pleas urged by the three powers in favour of their several demands; it would be no less uninteresting to lay before the reader, the answers and remonstrances of the king and senate, as well as the appeals to the other states which had guaranteed the possessions of Poland. The courts of London, Paris, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, remonstrated against the usurpations; but remonstrances without assistance could be of no effect. Poland submitted to the dismemberment, not without the most violent struggles, and now, for the first time, felt and lamented the fatal effects of faction and discord.

A diet being demanded by the partitioning powers, in order to ratify the cession of the provinces, was, after some delay, convoked by the king in the following summons: "Since there are no hopes from any quarter, and any further delays will only tend to draw down the most dreadful calamities upon the remainder of the dominions which are left to the republic; the diet is convened for the 19th of April, 1773, according to the will of the three courts: neverthe-

19, which relates, that one of the king of Prussia's officers, passing through Marienburgh, even said, that the neighbourhood of that town had fallen to the king by the partition.

May 30. "On croit de plus et plus qu'on nous partagera, tant d'avis qui s'accor-

"dent là dessus ne peuvent, pas être sur de vaines imaginations et conjectures," &c.

August 13. "La bombe va crever, on achève le traité de partage," &c.

August 24. "C'en est fait, le traité ébauché au mois de Février vient de prendre consistance," &c.

BOOK "less, in order to avoid all cause of reproach, the king, with
 1. "the advice of the senate, again appeals to the guaranties of
 "the treaty of Oliva."

The diet met at the appointed time; and such was the spirit of the members, that notwithstanding the deplorable situation of their country, the threats and bribes of the three powers, the partition-treaty was not carried through without much difficulty. For some time the majority of the nuntios appeared determined to oppose the dismemberment, and the king firmly persisted in the same resolution. The ambassadors of the three courts enforced their requisitions by the most alarming menaces; and threatened the king with deposition and imprisonment. They also gave out by their emissaries, that in case the diet continued refractory, Warsaw should be pillaged. This report was industriously circulated, and made a sensible impression upon the inhabitants. By menaces of this sort, by corrupting the marshal of the diet, who was accompanied with a Russian guard; in a word, by bribes, promises, and threats, the members of the diet were at length prevailed on to ratify the dismemberment. In the senate however, or upper house, there was a majority of only six; in the lower house, or assembly of the nuntios, but one single vote in favour of the measure*. An act was then passed to limit the sessions of the diet to the term of a few days, and delegates were appointed, with full powers to adjust, in concert with the ambassadors, all the terms of the dismemberment. The commissioners, or delegates, on the breaking up of the diet in May, immediately entered upon their office; and, by the month of September, finally concluded the treaty of the partition in conformity to the dic-

* By 54 against 53.

tates of the three courts. At this juncture, several nobles were bold enough to issue manifestos and remonstrances in various parts of the kingdom, against the cession of the provinces, and to reprobate the conduct of the partitioning powers; but such remonstrances were totally disregarded, and may be considered only as the last convulsions of an expiring nation.

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Of the dismembered countries *, the Russian province is the largest, the Austrian the most populous, and the Prussian the most commercial. The population of the whole amounts to near 5,000,000 of souls; the first containing 1,500,000, the second 2,500,000, and the third 860,000. Western Prussia was the greatest loss to Poland, as, by the dismemberment of that province, the navigation of the Vistula entirely depends upon the king of Prussia; by the loss consequently of this district a fatal blow was given to the trade of Poland; for his Prussian majesty has laid such heavy duties upon the merchandize passing to Dantzic, as greatly to diminish the commerce of that town, and to transfer a considerable portion of it to Memmel and Konigsburgh.

Although the limits of Poland were settled by the treaty of Partition, yet the Austrians and Prussians continually extended their frontiers: the emperor seized upon Casimir, and even avowed an intention of taking possession of Cracow and Kaminiac; while Frederic alledged these usurpations of the emperor as a justification for similar incroachments on his part; urging, that he could not, consistent with his own security, see the emperor increasing his dominions without following his example, and assuming an equivalent.

* The reader, by consulting the map of Poland (prefixed to this work), will see the situation and extent of the three dismembered provinces. For an account of the Austrian province, see Book II. chap. I.; of the Russian, Book III. ch. I.

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Catharine was forced for a time to connive at these encroachments; but no sooner was peace * established with the Turks, and the rebellion of Pugatcheff crushed, than she immediately turned her whole attention to Poland; and it is owing to her spirited remonstrances, that both Austrians and Prussians have relinquished their usurpations; and confined themselves to the limits marked by the treaty of partition.

The partitioning powers did less injury to the republic by dismembering its fairest provinces, than by perpetuating the principles of anarchy and confusion, and establishing on a permanent footing, that exorbitant liberty †, which is the parent of faction, and has proved the decline of the republic. Under pretence of amending the constitution, they have confirmed all its defects, and have taken effectual precautions to render this unhappy country incapable of emerging from its present deplorable state.

The delegates, who ratified the treaty of partition, were also empowered by the diet to concert with the three courts any alterations in the constitution which might appear beneficial to the kingdom; in consequence of these full powers, the

* The peace between the Empress and the Turks was signed on the 21st of July, 1774, in Marshal Romanzof's camp near Bulgaria; and in a letter from Warsaw, dated August 29, of the same year, it is said, "The Emperor and King of Prussia continued encroaching upon the Polish territories, and enlarging their frontiers which were marked by the treaty of Petersburg. But upon the conclusion of the peace, the Austrian and Prussian troops retired within their respective lines. Behold already the good effects of this glorious peace! What would have become of us, if the arms of the Ottoman empire had prospered according to the wishes of many."

And in another, dated Sept. 14, 1775, The king of Prussia has written to the empress of Russia a letter in a most enchanting style. After much praise, he adds, that notwithstanding the justice of his claim upon those parts which he has annexed to his former acquisitions, he shall make no difficulty in sacrificing them, as a proof of his readiness to oblige her Imperial majesty; provided the house of Austria will also restore what she has taken."

† "Our liberty," said a Pole, "is like a two-edged sword in the hand of an infant, and for that very reason our neighbours are anxious to preserve it entire."

delegation continued sitting from May 1773 to March 1775, during which period the convocation of the ordinary diet was postponed, until the members of the delegation had agreed to all the innovations proposed by the embassadors ; and until every part of the government was finally arranged. Notwithstanding the wretched condition of Poland, and the irresistible power of the three courts, yet the king and the majority of the delegates long withheld their consent to the proposed alterations.

Some idea of the spirit of the delegates may be formed from the following account of one of the meetings, when the propositions relating to the change of government were first produced in September, 1773. Prior to the appearance of the three embassadors in the assembly, much was said, and with great vehemence, against the projected innovations ; many reproaches were thrown out against the authors of that plan, for sacrificing the public advantage to their private ambition, resentment, and interests. At the entrance of the three embassadors, a dead silence took place for some minutes, until the secretary of the Russian embassy began to read the plan for new-modelling the constitution ; then a general murmur spread through the whole assembly, and, as he proceeded, increased to such a degree as almost to drown his voice ; nor was it without frequent interruptions, that he was permitted to finish its recital. He had scarcely concluded, when the whole body of delegates loudly demanded the treaties of partition and alliance : the embassadors answering, that many points could not be adjusted without farther instructions from their respective courts : it was replied, that in the mean time they

might

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might enforce the treaty of commerce, which they were authorised to conclude. At all events, it was urged, the proposal concerning the change of government is premature; a revolution of such extreme importance demands the most deliberate examination, and ought not to be hurried through, as if it was a circumstance of no concern to the nation. One of the delegates, who was most violent in his opposition, delivered his sentiments with a freedom which astonished the assembly; and when the ambassadors, who did not understand the Polish idiom, applied to a Castellan for an explanation of what was said, the latter excused himself, under pretence of not being qualified for the office of interpreter, as having but an imperfect knowledge of the French language. When, at last, one of the Palatines, who was of the ambassador's party, acquainted them with the contents of the speech; the orator ventured to thank him for explaining the purport of his harangue in so able a manner; while the praises which, in a fine tone of irony, he affected to bestow upon the Palatine for his readiness to oblige, as well as for his independent spirit, occasioned much mirth in the assembly. The undisguised approbation given by the greatest part of the members to this orator, convinced the ambassadors that this was no time to obtrude their resolutions upon the delegates; they accordingly broke up the meeting, and postponed the business to a future opportunity*. The next session, however, was not more favourable to their wishes, nor did the patriotic zeal of the delegates seem to abate.

* The following passage in one of my MS. letters, dated so late as Nov. 13, 1774, will shew the difficulty of settling with the delegates.

"The plan for the permanent council

" continues to be read; it still excites continual debates, and more will arise; but
" all will be finished according to the will
" of the ministers."

The opposition of the delegates to this measure continued so violent, that more than a year elapsed before the embassadors were able, by the influence of threats, bribery, and promises, to obtain a majority; at length, the delegates, terrified or seduced into compliance, formally acceded to the change of government. This important point being obtained, the delegation was dissolved on the 13th of April, 1775, and all the articles were confirmed by the general diet.

The following note, delivered by the three embassadors to the delegates on the 13th of September, 1773, will give the best general idea of the changes made in the constitution.

“ The courts are so interested in the pacification of Poland, that, while the treaties are getting ready to be signed and ratified, the ministers cannot lose any of that valuable time, so necessary for the re-establishment of order, and the tranquillity of this kingdom. We now, therefore, deliver to the delegation a part of those cardinal laws, to the ratification of which our courts will not suffer any contradiction.

I. “ The crown of Poland shall be for ever elective, and all order of succession proscribed: any person who shall endeavour to break this law, shall be declared an enemy to his country, and liable to be punished accordingly.

II. “ Foreign candidates to the throne being the frequent cause of troubles and division, shall be excluded; and it shall be enacted, that, for the future, no person can be chosen king of Poland, and great duke of Lithuania, excepting a native Pole, of noble* origin, and possessing land within the kingdom. The son, or grandson, of a king of Poland cannot be elected immediately upon the death of their father or

* That is, any gentleman.

“ grandfather ;

BOOK I. “grandfather; and are not eligible, excepting after an interval of two reigns.

III. “The government of Poland shall be for ever free, independent, and of a republican form.

IV. “The true principle of the said government consisting in the strict execution of its laws, and the equilibrium of the three estates, namely, the king, the senate, and the equestrian order, a Permanent Council shall be established, in which the executive power shall be vested. In this council the equestrian order, hitherto excluded from the administration of affairs in the intervals of the diets, shall be admitted, as shall be more clearly laid down in the future arrangements.”

These arrangements having been carried into execution, I shall make a few remarks upon the several articles.

By the first, the house of Saxony, and all foreign princes, who might be likely to give weight to Poland by their hereditary dominions, are rendered incapable of filling the throne. By the second, the exclusion of a king's son or grandson, excepting after an interval of two reigns, removes the faintest prospect of an hereditary sovereignty, and entails upon the kingdom all the evils inseparable from that most wretched form of government, an elective monarchy. By the third article, the *liberum veto*, and all the exorbitant privileges of the equestrian order, are confirmed in their utmost latitude; and by the last, the prerogatives of the crown, before too greatly reduced, are still farther diminished, as will be more minutely displayed in the ensuing chapter.

Before the conclusion of this chapter, it will be proper to mention the fate of the dissidents. Their pretensions were finally settled between the republic and the mediating powers,

at

PARTITION OF POLAND.

at the last meeting of the delegates. The catholic party opposed in so violent a manner the restoration of their antient privileges, that, by the consent of the foreign courts, they continue excluded from the diet, the senate, and the permanent council. In return, however, the dissidents enjoy the free exercise of their religion; are permitted to have churches without bells; schools and seminaries of their own; they are capable of sitting in the inferior courts of justice, and in the tribunal appointed to receive appeals in matters of religion, three of their communion are admitted as assessors.

In consequence of this toleration, the dissidents have constructed churches in different parts of the kingdom; one built upon this occasion by the Lutherans at Warsaw, has the following inscription:

“Has ædes Deo T. O. sacras

“Coetus Varsoviensis in August. Confess. ex consensu Sta-

“nislai Augusti Regis et Reipublicæ struere cœpit.

“Aprilis 24, 1777.”

C H A P. V.

Government of Poland.—Legislative authority possessed by the diet.—Executive power vested in the permanent council.—Act for the establishment of that council.—Article I. Arrangement of the permanent council.—Constituent parts taken from the three estates, the king, senate, and equestrian order.—Election of the members.—Prerogatives of the king.—Limitations of his authority.—Primate.—Marshal of the equestrian order.—Article II. Mode of proceeding.—Its five departments.—Foreign affairs.—Police.—War.—Justice.—The Treasury.—Article III. Power and duties.—Article IV. Limits of its authority.—Detail of the five departments.

BOOK
I.

THE government of Poland is with great propriety styled a republic, because the king is so exceedingly limited in his prerogative, that he resembles more the chief of a commonwealth, than the sovereign of a powerful monarchy.

The supreme legislative authority of this republic resides in the three estates of the realm, the king, senate, and equestrian order, assembled in a national diet *. The executive power, which was heretofore entrusted to the king and senate, is now, according to the new form of government, vested in the permanent council.

* For an account of the diet, see the next chapter.

The act for the establishment of the permanent council, CHAP.
V. by the diet of 1775, is thus worded.

Since the former existence of the council *ad latus nostrum* in the republic is proved from the antient constitutions which mention it, and nominally from the sixth article in the confirmation of king Stephen, as well as from the constitutions * of 1576, 1590, 1607, 1641, 1669, 1677, and of 1678: We therefore establish a national council, *ad latus nostrum*, composed of the three orders, namely, of us the king, the senate, and of the equestrian order, to act in the manner prescribed as follows.

ARTICLE I.

Arrangement of the Permanent Council.

I. This council shall bear the title of Supreme Permanent Council. It shall be composed of the three estates of the republic, namely, of the king, the senate, and the equestrian order, which shall be for ever inseparable, excepting during an interregnum, or in the king's absence, for which a provision is hereafter made.

The first estate, the king, as chief of the nation, is never changed; but the other two estates shall be elected, every two years, at the ordinary diet, by the majority of secret votes, in the following manner.

1. All senators and ministers are candidates of course, but the members of the equestrian order shall address themselves to the marshal of the last diet; and, in case of his death or absence, to the first nuntio of the province from which the marshal was taken, three days before the diet, either in person, or by memorials signed by themselves, and sealed with their own coats of arms.

* The laws of Poland are called constitutions, and are denominated constitutions of 1576, 1590, &c. as passed in the diets which assembled in those years.

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1.

2. The marshal of the diet being elected, all the ceremonies in the chamber of the nuntios being properly performed, and after the junction of the two houses according to the constitution of 1768, the lists of the candidates shall be read; that of the senators and ministers by one of the principal secretaries; and that of the candidates of the equestrian order by the secretary of the diet. No person shall be excluded from being a candidate, who can prove that he possesses the necessary conditions and qualifications, such as are hereafter described. And if any person so qualified is omitted, the great secretaries shall be answerable to the same diet for the omission of senators and ministers, and the marshal of the diet for that of the members of the equestrian order; and if they are convicted of having designedly been guilty of the omission, they shall be deprived of their charges.

3. A printed list of the candidates shall, the same day, be given to each member of the diet, to be taken into consideration.

4. The ensuing day each member of the diet shall secretly mark the names of as many persons in the printed list as are necessary to fill the permanent council.

This ceremony shall be performed in a corner of the senate-house. The senators invited by the great marshals, or, in their absence, by those who perform the office of marshals, and the nuntios summoned by the marshal of the diet, shall receive from the secretaries the printed list of the candidates, stamped with the arms of the republic, similar to that which was distributed the preceding day. With these lists they shall repair in order, one after the other, to a small table surrounded with curtains, upon which table they shall secretly draw a line under the names of the persons whom they favour; and every one shall put his list into a vase standing upon

upon a table in the corner of the hall, which vase shall be previously opened in the senate-house by the marshal, who is first in rank, in order to shew that it is empty. The vase shall be provided with three different locks, the keys whereof shall be given, one to his majesty, a second to the great marshal, or to him who stands in his place, and a third to the marshal of the diet. At the same time nine deputies shall be chosen, three from the senate by the king, and six by the marshal of the diet from the equestrian order. As soon as all the lists have been delivered, these deputies, being sworn, shall bring the vase into the middle of the senate-house, and having, in the face of the whole assembly, opened it with the three keys, shall compare the number of lists with the members of the diet who are present, count the suffrages, and the first in rank among the deputies shall openly proclaim the names of those who have the majority.

5. Each elector must underline in the printed list so many, and such persons as are required; that is, among the persons elected shall be the third of the members in the late permanent council, to the number of twelve, namely, six from the senate and ministry, and as many from the equestrian order, equally chosen from each province.

All the lists, in which this rule is not observed, and in which there are more or less persons nominated than the necessary number, shall be considered as null, and be rejected by the deputies.

6. Those who have the plurality of suffrages shall be admitted into the council; and it is only in case of an equal number of votes for any candidate or candidates, that the king shall have the casting voice.

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The necessary qualifications, which entitle a member of the equestrian order to become a candidate for a seat in the council, are to have belonged to any of the four jurisdictions of the republic, (of the marshal, of war, of the *assefforium* *, and of the treasury), to have been deputy in any tribunal, nuntio of the diet, or minister to a foreign court. Those who shall be elected during the diet, before they enter upon their office shall take the following oath.

“ I do swear, in the name of the Almighty, that I will
 “ be faithful to you Stanislaus Augustus, my gracious master,
 “ and to the republic of Poland ; that, in the exercise of my
 “ office as counsellor of the permanent council, I will execute
 “ with zeal all which the laws relative to the permanent
 “ council ordain : that I will not suffer myself to be sur-
 “ prised either by presents or menaces ; that in giving my
 “ advice I will not be biased by any person, but will act in
 “ obedience to the laws, and in conformity to justice will
 “ consult the good of my country ; that if I see or know any
 “ thing which may be either serviceable or detrimental to
 “ my country, I will faithfully acquaint his majesty, my most
 “ gracious master, and his permanent council, and will give
 “ my suffrage in the manner I think most likely to prevent
 “ the evil. I will not reveal the secrets which may be en-
 “ trusted to me by his majesty and his council. And so
 “ help me God.”

The council shall be composed of the following persons :

1. The king as chief and president.
2. Three bishops, among whom the primate of his own right, shall preside during two years, but shall have no seat the two following years.

* Court of Justice, having cognizance within a certain distance of the sovereign's place of residence. See p. 12. note †.

3. Nine lay-senators, two of whom may be elected either from the ministers or senators. CHAP.
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4. Four from the ministry of the republic, namely, one from each department; of these eighteen members of the senate, six must be taken from each of the three * provinces.

5. The marshal of the equestrian order, and, in case of his death or absence, the first counsellor of the equestrian order, according to the turn of the provinces.

6. Eighteen counsellors of the equestrian order, including the marshal.

7. The secretary of the permanent council shall be elected from the Referendaries †, and national notaries, &c.

OF THE PENSIONS.

The primate, bishops, and ministers, enjoying very considerable revenues derived from their charges, shall have no pensions.

Lay-senators of the crown, and of Lithuania, shall annually receive each 14,000 florins ‡, = £388. 18s.

The marshal of the equestrian order, as member of the permanent council, 30,000 florins, = £833. 6s. 8d.; and, during his residence at Warsaw, shall be allowed a guard of fifteen men, with an officer, from the army of the crown.

Each counsellor shall have 14,000 florins per annum, = £388. 18s.

The secretary of the council shall receive the same sum.

* Great Poland, Little Poland, and Lithuania.

† "Referendaries are a kind of masters of Requests, whose office is to receive petitions made to the king, and to give his

"majesty's answer: they have a place in any of the king's courts of justice." Connor's Poland, v. II. p. 77.

‡ 36 Polish florins = a pound sterling.

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I.

Explanation of the duties and prerogatives of the persons who compose the Permanent Council.

His majesty the king our most gracious master, as chief of the nation, and the first estate, representing the majesty of the republic, shall, according to usual practice, convoke by circular letters, and at the time prescribed by the laws, the ordinary diets; he must always consult the permanent council upon the matters to be laid before these assemblies, in the same manner as he before took the advice of the senate, which from henceforth shall no more be convened. His majesty shall in like manner summon the extraordinary diets, either of his own accord, or at the instance of the permanent council, which the king cannot refuse if the majority demand it.

All the laws and constitutions of the diet, decrees, privileges, and public acts shall be issued in the name of the king, as it has been hitherto practised.

He shall sign all the dispatches passed by order of the council, not having it in his power to put a negative upon them, if they are carried by a majority.

He shall give public audience to ambassadors and foreign ministers, to envoys or residents, shall treat with them, but cannot conclude without communicating the whole to the council, and following the advice of the majority.

The king, on his part, cedes the following royal prerogatives :

1. For the election of bishops, palatines, castellans, and ministers, the council shall nominate by ballot three candidates, one of whom the king shall appoint to the vacant office*.

* The king had before the sole disposal of these offices. See p. 13.

2. The power of appointing to all other ecclesiastical and civil offices shall continue, without any diminution, vested in the king, excepting the commissioners of war, of the treasury, those in the department of the marshal, and in the *assefforium regni*: all these commissioners were before accustomed to be named by him in the intervals between the diets; but his majesty now consents, that from henceforth the council shall elect three candidates, to be presented in the same manner as in the last mentioned article relative to the nomination of the senators and ministers.

3. With respect to military ranks, his majesty shall appoint the captains in the Polish companies, and the officers of the four companies, which are upon the Polish footing, and bear his name.

Excepting these, all other military promotions shall be conferred according to seniority.

Nevertheless, his majesty may propose candidates for military promotion, chosen among the young officers in the national service, to be secretly balloted for with that person who has the right of seniority; provided, at the same time, the great general delivers to his majesty his recommendation in writing, with his reasons for the said recommendation.

4. His majesty renounces the right to dispose of the royal demesnes and fiefdoms, with this clause, that the proprietors of both sexes be continued during their lives in possession of the said estates, which, from this present time, shall never be granted to any person whatsoever, under the appearance of recompence or any other pretext; but they shall be employed for the public good, to the great advantage of the country, and with the consent of the king.

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5. Four regiments of guards shall be restored to the command of the great general, as in the time of Augustus III: that is, while they preserve the name and rank of guards, they do not bind themselves by any new oath; and with this difference, that whereas formerly the great generals possessed alone the military power in their hands, at present they share that power with the committee; which committee, as well as the great generals, depend, in virtue of the present law, upon the permanent council.

In return, the king shall receive an annual sum sufficient to keep in pay two thousand troops, who shall depend solely upon his majesty; but this sum shall not be included in the additional revenues granted to his majesty, in compensation for those lost by the dismemberment of the provinces.

6. Reciprocally the republic stipulates on its part, once for all, that all the other royal prerogatives (those excepted which the king has graciously pleased to renounce) shall remain in full force, and be for ever inviolate.

THE PRIMATE.

The primate, during his office*, must attend the permanent council at least six months in the year.

The antient laws which secure the prerogatives of the primate during the interregnum remaining in force, he shall † preside in the council, even should it not be his turn for sitting in the council.

During the interregnum, the permanent council, keeping its power and authority, shall maintain, in the usual forms, the tribunals, and all the jurisdictions of the republic, according to the constitution of 1768, in all things not contradicted by this new arrangement.

* That is, during the two years in which he sits in the council.

† Namely, as viceroy during the interregnum.

The primate, during the two years of his function, signs his name after the king to all the acts of the permanent council ; and, in case of the king's absence, or during an interregnum, he has two * votes, in order to decide in case of equality of suffrages. In the primate's absence, the first senator in rank, who is member of the council, supplies his place.

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THE MARSHAL of the Equestrian Order.

The equestrian order shall have its marshal in the permanent council, who is the first in rank among the members of that order.

He shall be elected every two years at the ordinary diet by secret suffrages, always from each of the three provinces by rotation, according to the form prescribed for the election of the counsellors.

No senator or minister is capable of being elected marshal unless he before-hand resigns his charge.

He shall take the following oath before the same diet in the same manner as the other counsellors.

I swear before Almighty God, that I will be faithful to you Stanislaus Augustus my gracious master, and to the republic of Poland; that in the exercise of my office of marshal of the permanent council, I will execute with zeal all which is ordained by the laws established by the council ; that in giving my advice, and voting, I will take for the rule of my conduct the written laws, and the good of my country, from which I will never swerve, neither induced by intreaties, promises, friendship or hatred, or any other species of corruption or personal attachment whatsoever; that I will never divulge the secret deliberations of the coun-

* That is, I suppose, one vote as usual, and the casting vote in case of equality.

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The marshal of the equestrian order in the permanent council cannot be chosen marshal or nuntio of the next diet, nor be re-elected marshal of the permanent council, excepting after an interval of four years.

His office. He, as well as each of the counsellors, may remonstrate against the ill-execution of the laws, and lay before the council those matters of which it has the cognizance. It is the duty of the whole council to watch over the security and maintenance of the established government, and the present constitution; and the marshal, as well as each member, ought to have at heart the preservation of the prerogatives of the three estates; but more particularly the chancellor, who is a member of the council, and the marshal shall take care that the papers shall be kept in order, and the inspector of the acts and archives of the permanent council shall depend upon the permanent council *in pleno*.

The marshal, as well as each counsellor, may present candidates for subaltern places in the permanent council, who shall be accepted, if the council is unanimous, and, in case of any opposition, shall be elected by the majority of suffrages.

The marshal and chancellor shall take care that the said subalterns perform their duties, recommending to the permanent council to reward or punish them according to their deserts.

The marshal distributes the votes to the members of the equestrian order, draws the balls or the billets from the vase, in presence of two deputies from the senate and two from the equestrian order, chosen by the plurality of voices, counts the

number of suffrages, and declares the majority. The seal of the permanent council, together with the arms of the two nations, shall remain in the possession of the first among the chancellors, who are members of the council. CHAP.
V.

The marshal shall sign next to the king and primate, or, in the latter's absence, next to the senior senator, all the acts and resolutions of the permanent council, and shall the same day dispatch each act to its respective department.

At the ordinary diet he shall take his seat at the left hand of the marshal of the diet, and after his justification he shall depart from the assembly, together with all the members of the equestrian order in the late council.

If he exceeds his power, the permanent council may cite him, as well as each counsellor, before the tribunal of the diet, according to the form prescribed by law.

The SECRETARY of the Council.

He can only give his opinion, but has no vote in the council.

He shall deliver gratis to the petitioners the resolutions and answers of the permanent council, and shall countersign all the dispatches.

He shall receive from the secretaries of the departments (who shall depend upon him as far as relates to reports which are to be delivered) the reports of all that passes in the sittings of the different departments, and what is inserted in the registers; he shall acquaint the permanent council with the contents, and shall form a register of all the operations according to the decision of the diet.

He shall be obliged to report to the permanent council every thing that comes to his knowledge, which may be either advantageous or detrimental to the republic.

During

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During his absence, the permanent council shall elect, by a majority of suffrages, another person, who shall perform the duties of his office until he returns.

The archivist shall be elected in the permanent council by the majority of suffrages, in the same manner as the above-mentioned subalterns, and he shall be informed of all by the secretary.

The extracts, as well from the archives of the permanent council, as from the departments which appertain to the council, shall be delivered gratis.

The secretary shall take an oath, similar to the fore-going one, with the addition of the following clause: "I swear that I will not entrust, or give to any person, the papers which are consigned to me, without the permission of the council."

The instigators * of the two nations † (their ancient duties remaining in force) shall depend upon the permanent council, and shall not make their appearance in it without being summoned.

They shall take the usual oath, with the addition of the following clause: "We swear that we will not abandon any person for prayers, threats, promises, or personal consideration, nor indict but at the instance of the permanent council."

The nomination of the secretaries for the departments, the keeper of the archives, and scribes (all of whom must be natives and nobles) as well as the appointment of their duties, shall depend upon the permanent council.

The INTERPRETERS.

There shall be two for the Eastern languages, and one for the Russian tongue: they shall depend upon the per-

* Officers of the crown who prosecute in cases of high treason.

† Poland and Lithuania.

manent

manent council, and particularly upon the department for foreign affairs. CHAP.
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The members of the permanent council shall not be exempted from appearing in the courts of justice, &c.

If, in criminal affairs, a counsellor incurs any punishment, he shall submit to it according to the laws and the nature of the crime, without deriving any benefit from his office, &c.

ARTICLE II.

Arrangement, division, and mode of procedure in the Permanent Council.

The Permanent Council is divided into five departments.

1. For foreign affairs.
2. Police.
3. War.
4. Justice.
5. Treasury.

In the department for foreign affairs there shall be only four members, and eight in each of the other departments, amounting in all to thirty-six persons. The election of these members shall be made by the permanent council assembled in a body, either unanimously, or by a majority of open suffrages. The presence of three persons in each department shall be deemed sufficient to proceed upon business. The ministers * (who are of the council, shall preside in the departments belonging to their respective charges, and if any accusation shall be brought against them, they shall retire from the permanent council, not having a vote in such cases.

The members of each department shall receive the memorials and reports which concern their respective departments: having examined and made extracts, they shall add

* Namely, one of the great treasurers in the department of the treasury; one of the great generals in that of war, &c.

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their own opinion upon each matter, and shall then lay the whole before the permanent council for its final decision.

In the department, when there shall happen to be no minister, the senior senator shall preside. Each president has, beside his common vote, a casting voice, in case of an equality of suffrages. In all the departments, as well as in the council *in pleno*, the lowest member in rank shall give the first vote.

The council shall assemble *in pleno*, as often as necessity requires, in presence of the king, when he is pleased to be present; and in his majesty's absence, the primate during his turn shall preside; and in his absence, the first senator.

The king shall first propose whatever he thinks proper, and the question shall be decided, if not unanimously, by a plurality of voices. In all cases, when the king is not present, the primate, or, in his absence, the first in rank, shall have the power of proposing.

Afterwards, the marshal of the equestrian order, and then each counsellor, shall successively have the liberty of proposing.

Then the secretary of the council shall read the registers of the five departments, that the affairs which they treat may be finally decided by the permanent council *in pleno*, or returned to the department from which it was delivered for more exact information. When the king is not present in the council, the first senator and the marshal of the equestrian order, shall, in the name of the council, make reports of the affairs in agitation to the king. The king, having received them, shall, if he pleases, give his two votes in writing, which shall be as valid as if he had been present. If the king gives no vote before the next meeting, the question shall be decided by the majority; and, in case of an equality,

equality, the first in rank who presides in the council shall have the casting voice. CHAP.
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If the king is absent from Warsaw with the permission of the council, the council must repair to the place where he resides; but if his majesty quits Warsaw of his own accord, the election of the candidates, and the distribution of the charges, shall be suspended two months; at the expiration of which term, one of the members of the department for foreign affairs shall attend his majesty, to the end that a correspondence be preserved between the king and the council.

The memorials, in all public matters cognizable by the council, may be presented to any member of the council, or even to the secretary; but in all private affairs equally cognizable by the council, the memorials must be presented by those persons whom they concern.

The member who presents a memorial, having first signed it, shall send it to the secretary of the council, and the latter, having made extracts from it, shall read them to the council at the next meeting, bringing with him, however, the original to be examined in case of necessity.

But if the counsellor, who sends a memorial to the secretary, perceives it to be of such great importance as to deserve the inspection of the council, he shall add after his name the following words, "This memorial admits no delay." But should a memorial be of such a nature as to require secrecy, and to be laid before the council in the first resort, then the counsellor, to whom it has been given, shall himself, without sending it to the secretary, lay it before the council.

In all questions, if the members of the council are not unanimous, the first in order, whoever he be, marshal, minister, or member of the council, shall distribute, in the

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manner above-mentioned, the votes to the senators, and the marshal of the equestrian order to the persons of that order, and the majority shall be collected with the greatest exactness. The majority may be ascertained by two modes of decision; either by secret, or by open votes, when the person who assents, saying "*A permiit*," the suffrages shall be inscribed in the register by each voter.

The *Turnus* can never be employed *in pleno*, excepting the members of the council are fifteen in number; and before the turnus is made use of, the person who lays any proposition before the council ought to ask the members if they consent; the answer, that they consent, or silence, announces unanimity; but if any member should oppose and demand the turnus, then they shall proceed to open voting.

Each proposition may be the subject of deliberation during three days; but if any one member objects to that delay, he may propose to determine, by ballot, whether the affair shall be taken into consideration, or be immediately decided.

The turnus, once begun, shall be continued without interruption until the subject in agitation shall be finally decided, &c.

In all questions, the decision by ballot may be insisted on by any one member, but it must be used in the following points.

1. In election of vacant offices reserved to the council.
2. In extraordinary expences issued by the treasury of the republic, not warranted by law.

3. In matters of high treason, state crimes, disturbance of the public tranquillity, and conventicles contrary to law. The votes by ballot shall be collected with the greatest precaution and fidelity, and with every mark of necessary solemnity. For this purpose, a table shall stand in the middle

of

of the apartment, surrounded with curtains about the height of a man, which may be drawn and undrawn to admit the counsellors; upon this table shall be placed a vase, having two openings with inscriptions affirmative and negative, into which the balls shall be put; these openings shall be only big enough to admit the balls, and not to receive the whole hand. The vase shall be also closed with a lock, the key whereof shall be placed upon the council table until all the members have given their suffrages, and the balls are to be counted. The vase being opened, the marshal minister, and the marshal of the equestrian order, shall first hold it up and invert it to shew that it is empty; after which, it shall be sealed by the two marshals, and covered with the curtains. Next, the secretary shall distribute ivory balls to all who have a vote in the council; and every member, according to his rank, shall approach the table, and, first holding up his hand to shew that he has but one ball, shall put it into one of the openings, *permitting, or not permitting*, as he shall think proper, and according to his conscience; and in this manner he cannot see how the others give their votes, nor be seen himself.

If there are many candidates, the secretary shall distribute to each member billets, all written in the same hand, containing the names and surnames of the candidates; each member shall then put into the vase the billet containing the names and surnames of the candidates whom he favours, and shall burn the other billets, a candle being ready for that purpose.

In case of equality of suffrages, the king has the casting vote; and, to the end that each member may solicit the vacant charges in the gift of the permanent council, they

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I. } may all propose themselves, as well as recommend others, giving in their petition to that purpose in writing.

The secret balloting being finished, the marshal of the equestrian order, and the marshal minister, shall break each his seal and open the vase; and then, in conjunction with the two deputies from the senate and two from the equestrian order, shall declare the number of balls or billets.

After which, the marshal of the equestrian order shall read aloud the names of the candidates, and the number of votes in favour of each candidate, and shall declare for whom is the majority, which the secretary shall immediately register.

The king has the privilege of convening an assembly of the permanent council; and, in his absence, the first in rank; neither of whom can refuse to summon a meeting upon the request of any one member, representing the necessity of discussing an affair of great importance. Each member of the council has the liberty of delivering his opinion in a decent manner; but whenever any affair, relative to any member, is in agitation, that member shall have no vote.

Two persons of the same family, and even of the same surname, cannot be elected into the council, at the same time, as members of the same estate, namely, two senators, or two persons of the equestrian order; but only one person for each estate.

All the decrees of the permanent council shall be issued in the name of the king, without any payment for the affixing of the seal, in the following manner: "We the king, with the advice of the permanent council."

In order to prevent too frequent interruptions, no member of the council shall be absent more than six months in the year,

year, either at one or at different intervals, but with the consent of the permanent council granted by the majority.

The members who exceed their leave of absence shall lose a proportionate part of their salary; the same shall be understood of those who, being at Warsaw, do not attend the sittings of the council; excepting, in both cases, persons employed in other public offices, or those who produce proof of sickness.

The deduction of the salaries from the absent members shall, at the end of the year, be divided among those who have assiduously performed their duty.

The members of the permanent council cannot be sent beyond the frontiers as ministers to foreign courts: a person may decline being elected a member; but, when once admitted, he cannot resign upon any pretext.

At each ordinary diet, when the council expires, a third of the members of the last permanent council, namely, six from the senators, and the same number from the equestrian order, shall be continued, by ballot, members for the following years; and this is done to the end that the council may always contain persons experienced in business.

At the next ordinary diet, a particular place in the senate-house shall be assigned to the council, to answer any complaints which may be brought against it, and to receive a public testimony to be inserted in the constitutions of the diet; either that the diet received no complaints against the permanent council; or that, having received them, they were proved upon examination to be ill-founded; or that, having acknowledged their validity, justice was accordingly inflicted. The senators and ministers in the council shall have their usual places in the senate. In the ordinary diets, the counsellors of the equestrian order shall sit next to the ministers.

None

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None of the counsellors, either senators, ministers, or those of the equestrian order, shall be present at the dietines, or at the opening of the tribunals.

No counsellors shall accept any other public charges than those which appertain to their office.

No member of the council shall oppose the signatures of privileges, resolutions, or acts decided by the majority; and if either the king, the senior senator, or the marshal, should refuse to sign, in that case, each member shall subscribe for himself, and the names of the majority shall render the act valid.

In case of death, the vacancy shall be filled up within the space of ten weeks by ballot, in the manner above-mentioned. If the deceased be a bishop or lay-senator, his successor shall be taken from the bishops or lay-senators; if a minister, from the boards of the said minister's office; if a person of the equestrian order, either from the candidates presented at the last diet, or from those proposed upon this occasion.

ARTICLE III.

Power, authority, and duties of the Permanent Council.

1. Without enjoying the least authority, legislative or judicial, the council orders the execution of the laws; and, being the center of public affairs, as well foreign as domestic, is bound to determine according to the laws of its present establishment.

2. It shall issue assignments for the payment of sums reserved to the public treasury, and specified in the general table of expences unprovided for in extraordinary circumstances; and the members of the council cannot, during the holding of their office, partake of the said assignment.

3. It

3. It shall receive all projects beneficial to the state, decide upon the admission of those which are consonant to law, and must lay those which appear advantageous, but which have not the sanction of law, before the first diet for the determination of the states.

4. It shall form plans for the reformation of the laws, and shall present them before the next diet: it shall frame a new code of laws, public, civil, and criminal, to be approved by the diet.

5. It shall send ambassadors and ministers to foreign courts from the persons nominated by the king. The permanent council shall give them the necessary instructions, excepting in all cases reserved for the diet.

6. The permanent council shall appoint, by ballot, in the manner above-mentioned, three candidates for the vacant charges, excepting those which are in the king's gift, or are chosen by the nobility in the Palatinates.

7. It shall take the most effectual methods to preserve the alliances and treaties of the republic.

ARTICLE IV.

Limits of the Permanent Council's authority.

The council has no power in all matters reserved to the states assembled in diet, and can enact nothing contrary to any liberties and prerogatives justly conferred.

It must not usurp to itself the legislative or judicial power, nor in any degree take into consideration those affairs whose decision is reserved to the diet alone.

If the council should exceed its power, the members shall be liable to be cited and tried at the diet for high treason, and, if guilty, to be punished according to the antient laws established upon this article. The permanent council shall

remain

BOOK I. remain in full authority for two years without interruption, even should one or more extraordinary diets interfere; and at the ordinary diet until a new council shall be elected in its place, according to the prescribed form: then the antient council shall lay before the diet the situation of affairs, and give an account of its whole administration.

The permanent council can only act according to the laws in being, or carry the said laws into execution.

In all cases, not expressly mentioned by the laws, the permanent council cannot decide; but in all such circumstances it may prepare any proposals for new laws, and publish them in the circular letters for the convocation of the diet.

DEPARTMENT I.

Of foreign affairs in the Permanent Council.

The department of foreign affairs shall be composed of four members, amongst whom shall be one from the duchy of Lithuania, one of the chancellors, and two counsellors of the equestrian order.

To these shall be added one of the national secretaries, who shall have no vote: he shall inspect and expedite all foreign affairs, and shall take the usual oath, &c.

This department shall assemble as occasion may require. When the king is not present, a chancellor shall preside; and, in the latter's absence, the first senator. The national secretary shall make a report of all the letters directed to him, and, if required, shall lay them before the members of the said department: he shall not send any answers without their approbation.

He shall read at the meetings the letters and memorials to the department, which shall deliberate upon the answers: he shall write down the resolutions, and shall expedite the dispatches accordingly.

In all cases of public moment, such as letters from the king to foreign courts, state affairs which require any explanation, memorials and declarations, the department shall draw them up, and lay them before the council *in pleno*, for its determination. CHAP.
V.

Whenever any information is to be given to the Polish ministers at foreign courts in the ordinary course of affairs, the president of this department, having first heard the observations of each member, shall form the result.

All instructions for foreign ministers shall be first drawn up in this department, and then presented to the permanent council for its decision. If any member of this department dies, the permanent council shall, without delay, elect one of its counsellors in his place. The secretary of this department shall be nominated by the king from the national secretaries, or notaries. He shall maintain the correspondence with the foreign ministers of the republic, and to him shall be addressed all letters and memorials. In the same manner as the secretary, the subalterns in this department shall be chosen by the king.

DEPARTMENT II.

Committee of the marshals of Poland and Lithuania.

1. The great marshals shall act according to the constitution of 1768, restraining however the association of the assessors * in the following cases.

In criminal affairs.

* Before 1768, the great marshals were sole judges in all criminal causes cognizable by their tribunals: but in the diet of 1768 the following clause enacts, that

“diction of the great marshal: they shall be elected in each ordinary diet; they shall judge all causes in conjunction with the great marshal; and shall decide by the majority.”

BOOK I. In all taxes * upon provisions and merchandize only in the place of the king's residence, excepting corn, and the productions belonging to the nobility.

In all cases of debt or borrowings, only *ex vi inscripti fori*, when one of the parties appeals from the first instance, and the sum exceeds 500 florins = £13. 17s. 9d.

All appeals from the first instance, relative to the non-payment of taxes, shall be brought before the tribunal of the marshal with his assessors, in the presence of the judge or the notary, neither of whom shall have a vote. In this and similar cases of appeal, the opinion shall be given openly, and then finally decided by ballot.

2. The committee of the marshals shall be composed of the great and little marshals (or of their colleagues the marshals of the crown), of two senators, and four persons of the equestrian order. These six assessors shall be chosen at the ordinary diet, according to the form above prescribed for the election of the members of the permanent council.

3. The marshals shall be bound to fix months residence near his majesty, and each of the assessors to four months, to the end that there may always be the complete number of five persons, including the marshals, requisite to form a sitting.

4. No member of this committee can be elected a nuntio for the next diet; but the nuntios may be appointed members of this committee by ballot, and half of the antient assessors, both senators and nobles of the equestrian order, may be continued in their office for the two following years.

5. Solely in the cases of *denegati judicii et corruptionis judicis, perjurii et oppressionis civis liberi*, complaints against the

* The great marshal used before, of his presents and bribes to augment their pro- own authority, to impose prices on mer- fit. Connor's Hist. of Pol. v. II. p. 69. chants wares, who generally made him great

decisions of this committee can be brought before the permanent council; and causes of this nature shall be tried by the permanent council, in the manner prescribed by the law concerning the *denegatum iudicium, et corruptionem iudicis et perjurium*. CHAP.
V.

6. Each month the great marshal shall lay, before the permanent council, the report of his decisions, made in conjunction with the affeffors.

7. In case the marshal should disobey the laws in any of these articles, the permanent council may remonstrate; and if he persists in infringing them, he shall be liable to be cited before the diet as guilty of high treason.

8. In all other points, not contrary to these articles, the antient prerogatives of the marshals shall continue in force.

Department of the Police in the Permanent Council.

1. When the great marshal shall be a member of the permanent council, he shall preside in the department of the police; and in his absence the first senior in rank, who is member of the said department.

2. If any complaints shall be urged against the great or little marshals, for non-performance of the duties specified in the articles of the "committee of marshals and their dependence on the permanent council," the plaintiffs, if members of the council, shall not be present at the resolutions passed under such circumstances.

3. If this department shall have occasion for the register of the committee of marshals, it shall be communicated.

The Great Generals of the Two Nations.

1. Beside the troops, commanded by the marshals of the two nations and by the treasurers, stationed at Warsaw, there may be quartered in that capital 3000 soldiers, namely, 2000 from the army of the crown, and 1000 from that of Lithuania.

The discipline of the Lithuanian corps shall depend upon the great general of Lithuania; the chief command shall devolve upon the great general of the crown. If the king shall reside in Lithuania, a proportionate number of troops from the army of the crown shall be stationed in that duchy, in the same manner as the Lithuanian corps is quartered at Warsaw with the crown soldiers.

The great generals shall be obliged to change the garrison of Warsaw at the request of the permanent council.

2. Whenever the great general shall find it expedient to raise new fortifications, they shall present the plan to the permanent council, and the latter to the diet.

3. The permanent council shall make known to the great general, when he should order the absentees to rejoin their regiments.

4. The permanent council, in concert with the great generals, shall regulate the number of soldiers to be furnished by the regiments for the purpose of making high roads, cleansing rivers, and other public works, a representation being previously made, and a plan prescribed, by the commissioners of the treasury: it shall in the same manner fix the pay of the said soldiers, to be assigned from the public fund destined for extraordinary cases, with this exception, that the troops shall be exempted from such services,

vices, during the months in which they are exercised or encamped.

5. In case the great generals should act counter to these articles, the permanent council shall first remonstrate, and if that should have no effect, may accuse them of high treason before the diet; if, during the intervals of the ordinary diet, it should be thought necessary to call them to account, the permanent council shall assemble an extraordinary diet for that purpose.

6. The list of extraordinary expences shall be communicated, by the great generals, to the permanent council, before it is laid before the ordinary diet.

7. The discipline, subordination, exercise, and clothing of the troops, the appointment of the spots for the encampment of the divisions, (with this proviso, that never more than one division shall encamp in the same place) in a word, the chief command of the troops shall be vested in the great generals.

8. The nomination and creation of the officers and subalterns, belonging to the committee of war, shall reside in the great generals.

9. In other points, the generals retain all their antient rights and privileges, not contradicted by these articles.

Explanation and changes of the Constitution of 1768, relative to the Committee of War of both nations.

1. The committee of war shall be composed of six commissioners, as enjoined by the diet of 1768, one half to be taken from persons in the civil line, and the remainder from officers not employed.

Among the three military commissioners shall be included of course the generals of the artillery, but without receiving

BOOK I. the salary of commissioners. Three commissioners are sufficient to make a board; and if only two should meet, then the notaries of the committee of war of the crown shall assume the place of the absent commissioner, and have a vote; but when there is a requisite number, then the notaries shall only have a deliberative voice.

2. This committee of war shall keep in order, and have the direction of, the military archives.

3. Twice a year it shall receive the reports of the troops relative to the discharge of their pay, and shall send them to the permanent council.

4. Since the troops cannot subsist without pay, nor suffer the least delay in that article, it is enacted, once for all, that the committee of the treasury shall be obliged to employ, for the payment of the said troops, the first money which it receives, and which shall be regularly delivered to the troops every year on the 1st of April and the 1st of October. If it happens, that this payment shall not be made at these stipulated times, the great general and the council of war shall be bound to acquaint the permanent council with this delay; and the permanent council shall immediately authorize the great general and the council of war to procure the sums destined for the pay of the troops.

5. The committee of war shall have the care of the military chest, and shall pay all the troops according to the established calculation. The chest shall be provided with three keys; one whereof shall be kept by the great general, or, in his absence, by the president of the council of war; the second by one of the commissioners of war; and the third by the cashier.

6. The

6. The commissioners of war shall judge, as well all causes CHAP.
V. between soldiers according to the military articles, as all processes brought by the citizens against a soldier in his military capacity: but in case a soldier in his military capacity should aggrieve a citizen, then the plaintiff shall apply to the commander for redress; and if he obtains none, he may cite him before the court of justice of the place where the assault was committed, reserving the appeal to the committee of war.

7. No member of the said committee can be capable of being elected nuntio at the next diet; but the commissioners may be taken from the nuntios of the diet, or from other nobles, promiscuously.

A third part of the commissioners may be continued for the next two years, if they have the plurality of ballots in their favour. The same holds good in respect to the senators: and those, who are thus confirmed in their seats for two more years, cannot be elected the third time for the two next years.

8. In other points, not contradictory to these articles, the committee of war of both nations are maintained in their antient rights.

Establishment of the Military Department in the Permanent Council.

1. The military department in the permanent council shall receive, twice a year, from the great general, the list of the army, to be examined and inserted in the acts.

2. The great general, having a seat in the council, shall preside in the military department, or, in his absence, the senior of the said department.

3. If

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1.

3. If any complaints shall be urged against the great or little generals for not fulfilling the articles prescribed under the title of "The great generals of both nations," the accused, if members of the permanent council, shall not be present at the discussion of the said complaints.

DEPARTMENT IV.

The Great Chancellors of both Nations.

1. Each great chancellor, or his colleague the vice-chancellor occupying his place, shall have a committee composed of two senators, and four persons of the equestrian order, to be chosen during the sitting of the diet by ballot, according to the form prescribed in the permanent council, &c.

2. Each of those ministers shall be bound to at least six months residence at Warsaw, upon the assignment of salaries, and each commissioner or assessor to at least four months; that the requisite number of three persons, including the great chancellor, or vice-chancellor, may be present at each meeting.

These assessors shall receive each 6000 florins *per annum*, = £166. 13s. 4d. and these salaries shall be divided between the assessors who attend.

3. No member of the equestrian order in this committee can be elected nuntio of the next diet, &c.

4. Every month the chancellors shall send to the permanent council a list of all the privileges which have passed the seal.

5. The seals shall remain in the hands of the great and vice-chancellors. The chancellor and vice-chancellor of the crown shall seal, as before, the privileges reserved to the king, and those of Lithuania shall, in the same manner, seal the privileges of that duchy, &c.

6. The

6. The great chancellors and vice-chancellors, in case of non-compliance with any of these articles, shall be liable to be cited by the permanent council before the diet. CHAP. V.

7. In all other points the chancellors are maintained in their antient privileges, not contradictory to these articles just enumerated.

DEPARTMENT V.

Great Treasurers of both Nations.

1. The department of the treasury, composed of members of the permanent council, shall receive from the committee of the treasury of the crown the lists of the ordinary expences, &c. and shall take care that the receipts and expenditures are authorized by the laws.

2. Every month the great treasurer of the crown, and the great treasurer of Lithuania, shall send a report of all the transactions of this department to the permanent council, &c.

3. Whenever one or both the great treasurers are elected members of the permanent council, the first in rank shall preside in this department, composed of the members of the permanent council.

4. The commissioners of the treasury shall receive, and, upon proper deliberation, admit or reject all memorials and plans relative to commerce, the augmentation of the revenues, the establishment of manufactures, cleansing rivers, cutting canals, forming harbours, making bridges and high roads, erecting buildings, and all other public works, &c. always under the controul of the permanent council.

5. The commissioners of the two nations shall pay from the public funds, destined for that purpose, the extraordinary expences and gratifications, in compliance with the resolutions of the permanent council *in pleno*, &c.

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6. The clerks in the committees of the treasury of both nations shall provide for themselves proper securities. The appointment of these clerks shall belong to the great treasurer; but the examination of their qualifications, the approbation or rejection of their securities, shall wholly rest with the committee. The qualifications are,

1. That they are gentlemen.
2. That they find proper securities.
3. That their characters are not infamous.
4. That they are able to write.
5. That they are able to cast accounts.

In case these clerks should discover any notorious incapacity, the committee shall have it in their power to deprive them of their charges.

7. All the writings, decrees, and circular letters, issued by the committee, shall be signed by the treasurers alone; or, in their absence, by the first in rank. In case the treasurers refuse to put the seal to any resolutions passed by the committees, it shall be esteemed valid, if signed by the first in rank next to the treasurer, even in the presence of the latter; and complaints may be urged against the treasurer, for refusing to sign such resolutions.

8. If the great treasurers remove from the place where the committees assemble, they shall be accompanied in their route by fifteen of the treasury troops, provided that no extraordinary expence on that account be incurred by the treasury, and that no damage be suffered by the inhabitants.

9. The troops of the committee of the treasury shall continue in the same obedience to the great treasurer, and the committee, as enjoined by the diet of 1768; and if any of the officers, appointed by the king's patent, shall

shall deserve punishment, he shall be judged by a court martial, composed of the officers of the same corps, according to the military articles, and the sentence shall be sent to the committee of war. The number of this corps shall not exceed 500 men, and the sum appropriated for their support shall not surpass that which is settled by the constitution of 1768.

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V.

10. If the treasurers disobey any of these articles, the permanent council is bound to remonstrate, and, in case of still further disobedience, to cite them before the diet as guilty of high treason.

11. In other points, the great treasurers are maintained in their antient privileges.

Changes and Explanation of the Constitution of 1768, relative to the establishment of the Committee of the Treasury of both Nations.

1. The commissioners of the treasury of the crown shall be composed of the great treasurer of the crown, and of nine commissioners, three senators, and six from the equestrian order, &c.

2. The great treasurers shall be bound to at least four months residence, under pain of losing their salaries proportionable to the time of their absence, and these deductions shall not be divided among the commissioners who are present, but shall be left in the chest. The commissioners are equally bound to four months residence, in order that there may be always present five commissioners (including one or both treasurers), the requisite number for holding a board. The deductions of the salaries for the absent commissioners shall be divided amongst those who are present.

3. None of the commissioners of the equestrian order can be elected a nuntio for the next diet, &c.

4. From this time there shall be a register apart for those decrees of the committee, which relate to foreign affairs, commerce, and notes of exchange.

What causes shall be brought before the Committees of the Treasury.

1. Those relative to the unpacking of merchandize which occasion any delays of transport.

2. Imposts of all sorts payable by the nobility, clergy, and towns.

3. Of contracts of merchants.

4. Of letters of exchange, which shall be further explained in a law apart.

5. Of debts of merchants and workmen.

6. Of weights and measures.

7. Of damages caused to the treasury, or of thefts and negligences of the subalterns, &c.

In all other points, the committees of both nations shall be maintained in all their antient privileges, not contradictory to these articles above-mentioned.

C H A P. VI.

Supreme authority resides in the diet.—Origin of the Diet.—Place and time of assembling.—Ordinary and extraordinary.—Convoked by the king.—Constituent parts.—King, senate, and nuntios.—Proceedings.—Liberum Veto.—History and causes of its introduction.—Its dreadful effects.—How remedied.—Diet of confederacy.—The plain of Vola where the kings are elected.—Account of the diets of convocation and election.

THE general diet of Poland enjoys, as I have before ob-
served, the supreme authority : it declares war, makes
peace, levies soldiers, enters into alliances, imposes taxes,
enacts laws, in a word, it exercises all the rights of absolute
sovereignty. CHAP. VI.

Some historians place the earliest diet in the reign of Casimir the Great ; but it is very uncertain whether it was first convened in his time ; and still more doubtful, of what members it consisted. Thus much is unquestionable, that it was not until the reign of Casimir III. that this national assembly was modelled into its present form *.

The place of holding the diets depended formerly upon the will of the kings ; and Louis even summoned two in Hungary. In those early times Petricau was the town in which they were most frequently assembled ; but in 1569, at the union of Poland and Lithuania, Warsaw was appointed

* See p. 8.

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the place of meeting; and in 1673, it was enacted, that of three successive diets, two should be held in this capital, and one at Grodno * in Lithuania. This regulation has been generally followed, until the reign of his present majesty, when the assemblies have been uniformly summoned to Warsaw †.

Diets are ordinary and extraordinary; the former are convened every two years, the latter as occasion requires. In 1717 the usual season for the meeting of the ordinary diets was fixed for Michaelmas; but during the present reign it has been occasionally changed to the month of October or November.

The king, with the advice of the permanent council, convokes the diet, by means of circular letters issued to all the Palatines in their respective provinces, at least six weeks before the time appointed for its meeting: these letters are accompanied with a short sketch of the business to be agitated in the diet.

The constituent parts of the diet are the three estates of the realm, namely, the king, the senate, and the nobles or gentry, by their nuntios or representatives.

1. The king, considered in his capacity of president, is only, as it were, the chief of the diet: he subscribes all acts; signs all decrees agreed to by the assembly; issues out all ordinances in his own name, and that of the republic, without enjoying the right of a negative in any of these particulars.

In all questions he has no vote, excepting upon an equality of suffrages; but is at liberty to deliver his sentiments upon any question. His present majesty is esteemed one of the most eloquent among the Polish orators: he has an

* Lengnich, Hist. Pol. p. 262.

* See Book II. Chap. VI. Art. Grodno.

agreeable tone of voice, and much skill in suiting and varying his cadence to the subjects of his discourse ; he harangues with great energy of style and dignity of manner ; and his speeches always make a considerable impression upon the members of the diet. CHAP.
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When he is disposed to speak, he rises from his seat, advances a few steps, and cries out, " I summon the ministers of state to the throne." Then the great officers of the crown, who are sitting at the lower end of the senate-house, come forward and stand near the king. The four great marshals strike the ground at the same time with their staves of office ; and the first in rank says, " The king is going to speak ;" after which his majesty begins.

2. The second estate, or the senate, is composed of spiritual and temporal senators.

1. The bishops or senators spiritual have the precedence over the temporal senators. The archbishop of Gnesna is primate and chief of the senate, and is viceroy in case of an interregnum.

2. The temporal are Palatines, Castellans, and the great officers of state.

The palatines are the governors of the provinces, who hold their offices for life. In time of war, when the army of the republic is summoned, the palatines levy and lead the force of their palatinates into the field, according to the tenure of feudal services ; in time of peace they convoke the assemblies of the palatinates, preside in the county courts of justice, and judge the Jews within their respective jurisdictions, &c.

The Castellans are divided into Grand and Petty Castellans : their office, in time of peace, is merely nominal ; but when
the

BOOK I. the military or feudal services are required, they are the lieutenants of the palatines, under whom they command the troops of the several districts in the palatinates.

The great officers of the republic, who sit in the senate, are ten in number, namely, the two great marshals of Poland and Lithuania, the two great chancellors, the two vice-chancellors, the two great treasurers, and the two sub-marshals.

All the senators were formerly appointed by the king; but by the late change of government, his majesty's choice is restricted to one of three candidates presented by the permanent council *. The senators, once nominated, cannot be deprived of their charges, excepting by the diet.

3. The third estate is formed by the nuntios or representatives of the equestrian order. These representatives are chosen in the dietines or assemblies of each palatinate, in which every noble or gentleman, at the age of eighteen, has a vote, or is capable of being elected. There is no qualification in point of property required, either for the electors, or elected; it is only necessary that the nuntio should be a noble, that is, a person not engaged in trade or commerce, possessing land himself, or the son of a person possessing land, or of an ancient family which formerly possessed land †. Each nuntio must be twenty-three years of age.

The general proceedings of the diet are as follow: The king, senate, and nuntios first meet altogether in the cathedral of Warsaw, and hear mass and a sermon. After service, the members of the senate, or upper-house, repair to the

* See p. 64.

† Est autem nobilis qui patre nobili natus in suis possessionibus vivens juribus nobilitatis utitur. Leng. J. P. v. II. p. 8. Les nobles qui ont des terres, leurs enfans males, leurs

freres, et autres qui sont reconnus pour avoir leurs possessions et etre de race ancienne et noble Leix et Cons. de la Diete de 1768. p. 62.

senate-house; and the nuntios, or lower-house, to their chamber, when the latter choose, by a majority of voices, a marshal, or speaker, of the equestrian order: in order to preclude unnecessary delays, the election is required to take place within three days after their meeting *. Two days after the choice of their speaker, the king, senate, and nuntios, assemble in the senate-house, which is called the junction of the two houses. The nuntios then kiss the king's hand, and the members of the diet take their places in the following order.

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The king is seated, in regal state, upon a raised throne, under a canopy at the upper end of the apartment. At the lower end, opposite the throne, sit in armed chairs the ten officers of state. The bishops †, palatines, and Castellans, are ranged in three rows of armed chairs, extending from the throne on each side; and behind these are placed the nuntios upon benches covered with red cloth. The senators have the privilege of wearing their caps, but the nuntios remain uncovered.

All the members being seated, the *Paëla Conventa* are read, when the speaker of the equestrian order, as well as

* Formerly, it being stipulated that the election of the marshal should take place as soon as possible, in most diets much time elapsed before a marshal was chosen; and as the sitting of the national assembly is confined to six weeks, it sometimes happened, that the nuntios could never agree in the choice; and several diets broke up without transacting any business. Connor, who visited Poland in John Sobieski's reign, says upon this head, "He that designs to be elected marshal, must treat the gentry all the while, otherwise he would have no vote for him; and commonly they prolong the election, that they may live the longer at the candidates charges." v. II. p. 92.

In order to remedy this inconvenience, it was enacted in 1690, that the marshal must be chosen on the first day of the meeting; but in 1768, the time allowed for the election was extended to three days. See Leng. J. P. II. p. 322. and Loix et Const. de 1768, p. 52.

† Including the archbishops of Gnesna and Vilna, each at the head of his respective suffragans.

The reader will find a print which gives a faithful representation of the diet in Connor's Hist. of Poland, v. II. p. 82. One trifling error must be corrected: the seats marked IIII are for the ministers of state, when not standing near the throne.

BOOK I. each nuntio, is empowered to interrupt the perusal by remonstrating against the infringement of any particular article, and demanding at the same time a redress of grievances. Then the great chancellor proposes, in the king's name, the questions to be taken into consideration; after which, his majesty nominates three senators, and the speaker six nuntios, to prepare the bills. The diet, by majority of voices, chooses a committee to examine the accounts of the treasury.

The members* of the permanent council are elected in the manner mentioned in the preceding chapter.

These preliminary transactions must be dispatched in the space of three weeks; at which period the two houses separate: the nuntios retire into their own chamber, and all the bills undergo a separate discussion in both houses. Those which relate to the treasury are approved or rejected by the sentiments of the majority. But in all state-matters† of the highest importance no resolution of the diet is valid, unless ratified by the unanimous assent of every nuntio, each of whom is able to suspend all proceedings by his exertion of the *Liberum Veto*.

The diet must not sit longer than six weeks: on the first day, therefore, of the sixth week the senate and nuntios

* The equestrian members of the last permanent council are permitted to be present in this assembly, without having any vote, until the resolutions of the council are approved by the diet. The senators, who have a seat in the council, are present of course.

† Matters of state are thus defined by the constitution of 1768. 1. Increase or alteration of the taxes. 2. Augmentation of the army. 3. Treaties of alliance and peace with the neighbouring powers. 4. Declaration of war. 5. Naturalization and cre-

ation of nobility. 6. Reduction of the coin. 7. Augmentation or diminution in the charges of the tribunals, or in the authority of the ministers of peace and war. 8. Creation of places. 9. Order of holding the diets or dietines. 10. Alterations in the tribunals. 11. Augmentation of the prerogatives of the *senatus-consulta*. 12. Permission to the king to purchase lands for his successors. 13. *Arrier-ban*, or summoning the nobles to arms.

In all these cases unanimity is requisite. See *Loix et Const. de la diete de 1768*, p. 46.

meet again in the senate-house. The state-bills (provided CHAP.
VI. they are unanimously agreed to by the nuntios, an event which seldom happens in a free diet) are passed into laws; but if that unanimity be wanting to them, they stand rejected; and the business relating to the treasury, which has been carried by a majority, is read and registered.

While the bills are debating in the lower house, the king, senate, and eighteen nuntios, form a supreme court of judicature, by which all nobles accused of capital crimes are tried; and all appeals from inferior courts determined in the last resort. The majority decides, and the king gives sentence.

At the conclusion of the sixth week the laws, which have passed, are signed by the speaker and nuntios, and the diet is of course dissolved.

The extraordinary diets are subject to the same regulations as the ordinary diets, with this difference, that they cannot, by the constitutions of 1768, continue longer than a fortnight. The same day in which the two houses assemble in the senate-house, the questions are to be laid before them; and the nuntios return immediately to their own chamber. On the thirteenth day from their first meeting, the two houses are again united; and on the fifteenth day, after the laws have been read and signed, the diet breaks up as usual.

The most extraordinary characteristic in the constitution of Poland, and which seems peculiarly to distinguish this government from all others, both in ancient and modern times, is the *Liberum Veto*, or the power which each nuntio enjoys in a free diet*, not only like the tribunes of ancient Rome, of putting a negative upon any law, but even of dissolving

* A free diet, in which unanimity is requisite, is distinguished from a diet of confederacy, in which all business is carried by the majority.

BOOK I. the assembly. That every member of a numerous society should be invested with such a dangerous privilege, in the midst of the most important national transactions, is a circumstance in itself so incredible, as to deserve a minute enquiry into the causes which introduced a custom so pregnant with anarchy, and so detrimental to public welfare.

The privilege in question is not to be found in any period of the Polish history antecedent to the reign of John Casimir. It was under his administration, that in the year 1652, when the diet of Warsaw was debating upon transactions of the utmost importance which required a speedy determination, that Sicinski *, nuntio of Upita in Lithuania, cried out, "I stop the proceedings." Having uttered these words, he quitted the assembly, and, repairing immediately to the chancellor, protested; that as many acts had been proposed and carried contrary to the constitution of the republic, if the diet continued to sit, he should consider it as an infringement of the laws. The members were thunderstruck at a protest of this nature, hitherto unknown. Warm debates took place about the propriety of continuing or dissolving the diet: at length, however, the venal and discontented faction, who supported the protest, obtained the majority; and the assembly broke up in great confusion.

This transaction changed entirely the constitution of Poland, and gave an unlimited scope to misrule and faction. The causes which induced the Poles to acquiesce in establishing the *Liberum Veto*, thus casually introduced, were probably the following.

It was the interest of the great officers of state, particularly the great general, the great treasurer, and great marshal,

* Teng. Jus Pub. v. II. p. 215.

in whose hands were vested the administration of the army, the finances, and the police, to abridge the sitting of the diet. These great officers of state, being once nominated by the king, enjoyed their appointments for life, totally independent of his authority, and liable to no controul during the intervals of the diets, to which alone they were responsible. This powerful body accordingly strongly espoused the *Liberum Veto*, conscious they could easily, and at all times, secure a nuntio to protest; and by that means elude all enquiry into their administration. CHAP.
VI.

2. By a fundamental law of the republic, all nobles accused of capital crimes can only be brought to trial before the diet; and as, at the period just mentioned, many persons stood under that description, all these and their adherents naturally favoured an expedient tending to dissolve the only tribunal, by which they could be convicted and punished.

3. The exigences of the state, occasioned by the continual wars in which Poland had been engaged, demanded, at this particular crisis, an imposition of several heavy taxes: as the sole power of levying all pecuniary aids resided in the diet; all the nuntios, therefore, who opposed the raising of additional subsidies, seconded the proposal for shortening the duration of that assembly.

4. But the principal reason, which carried through, and afterwards supported the power of dissolving diets, is to be derived from the influence of some of the great neighbouring powers, interested to foment anarchy and confusion in the Polish councils. Before this period, if they wished to form a cabal, and to carry any point in the national assembly, they were obliged to secure a majority of votes: under the new arrangement they were able to attain their end on much easier terms,

BOOK I. terms, and to put an end to any diet unfriendly to their views, by the corruption of a single member.

The bad effects of the *Liberum Veto* were soon felt by the nation to such an alarming degree, that all the members in the diet of 1670 bound themselves by an oath not to exert it, and even passed a resolution, declaring its exertion entirely void of effect in the course of that meeting. Notwithstanding, however, these salutary precautions, one Zabokrziski, nuntio from the palatinate of Bratlau, interposing his negative, brought this very diet to a premature dissolution*.

This *Liberum Veto*, indeed, has been always considered by the most intelligent Poles as one of the principal causes, which has contributed to the decline of their country. From the æra of its establishment public business has continually suffered the most fatal interruption; it abruptly broke up seven diets in the reign of John Casimir; four under Michael; seven under John Sobieski; and thirty during the reigns of the two Augusti: so that, within the space of 112 years, 48 diets have been precipitately dissolved by its operation; during which period Poland has continued almost without laws, without justice, and, excepting the reign of John Sobieski, with few symptoms of military vigour. Yet so strongly did the motives above displayed attach the Poles to this pernicious privilege, that in the act of confederacy, framed in 1696 after the decease of John Sobieski, the *Liberum Veto* is called the dearest and most invaluable palladium of Polish liberty†.

The Poles, however, having fatally experienced the disorders arising from the *Liberum Veto*, would certainly have

* Zawodchi Hist. Arcana.

† Unicum et specialissimum Jus Cardinale,
abolished

abolished it, if they had not been prevented by the partitioning powers: and it still exists in its full force*.

I ought not to omit observing, that neither the king or the senate, but only the nuntios, enjoy the power of interposing this negative upon the proceedings of the diet†.

It will naturally strike the reader, that if every representative possesses the *Liberum Veto*, how can any transaction be carried on? or how is it possible that any one bill should pass into a law? for no motion can be conceived which is not liable to be opposed by the intrigues of party, or the jealousy of the neighbouring powers. In order, therefore, to avoid the anarchy attendant upon free diets through the operation of the *Liberum Veto*, the Poles have lately had recourse to diets by confederacy; which, though composed of the same members, and held under the same exterior forms as free diets, differ from them in the essential circumstance of allowing business to be determined

* It would appear, at first sight, as if, by the following regulation, established by the diet of 1768, the exertion of the *Liberum Veto* was in some instances restrained. "The absence of a nuntio, who has interrupted the proceedings of the diet, shall be no hindrance to the transaction of treasury matters." *Loix et Const. de la diete de Varsovie*, 1768, p. 56. But this restriction of the *Liberum Veto*, in effect, is of no validity.

For among the cardinal laws established by the same diet, it is enacted, "that matters of state cannot be passed but by a free diet and unanimous consent;" p. 18. And again, "that after the treasury business, matters of state shall be brought forward, when the opposition of a single nuntio shall stop all proceedings;" p. 56. And in another place, it is decreed, "that in free diets, the *Liberum Veto* shall hold good in all matters of state;" p. 44.

When we recollect the definition of state matters (p. 98, note †), we cannot but perceive, that the power of interposing a negative still effectually exists. To abate its exertion in small points, and to establish it in the most important affairs, is no real prevention of the evil.

In fact, as a proof that it continues in its full force, we may observe, that since the year 1768, no free diet has been convened; I mean before I visited Poland. An account of what has passed, since I quitted the country, does not fall under my plan. I recollect indeed to have seen, in some foreign Gazette, that a free diet had been lately assembled, but that nothing material had been transacted in it.

† Lengnich says, that the senators have the power of breaking up the diet; but he adds, that they never make use of this privilege; *Jus. Pub. II.* p. 46. which amounts to the same as their not having it.

BOOK I. by the plurality of votes. These diets have long been known to the constitution, and have at times been used upon extraordinary emergencies; but within these ten years they have been regularly held at the stated time for summoning ordinary diets. Indeed, according to the true principles of the Polish government, no confederacy ought to be entered into excepting upon the following occasions: in defence of the king's person, upon any foreign invasion or domestic conspiracy; and during an interregnum at the diets of convocation and election*. But as no other means has been found to prevent perpetual anarchy, the nation is obliged to submit to an infringement of the constitution, which operates for the general good †.

DIET OF ELECTION. *

During my continuance at Warsaw I visited the spot where the kings of Poland are chosen. I was so fortunate as to be accompanied by a nobleman of the senate, who obligingly explained all the forms and ceremonies of the election, and answered all the questions which my curiosity suggested to me upon the occasion. Immediately upon my return to Warsaw, while my memory was yet warm, I noted down the following account of the place and mode of election: I was more circumstantial than usual, as well because the subject is interesting, as because most of the descriptions which I have read of this ceremony abound with errors.

The spot, which is settled by the constitution for the place of election, is the plain of Vola, about three miles from the

* But as it is enacted by the diet of 1768, that all matters of state must be carried unanimously in free diets, I presume that the diets by confederacy only transact the common business, without making any new

laws, or repealing old statutes.

† It is decreed, however, by the code of 1768, that in every diet of convocation all state matters must pass unanimously, p. 58.

capital. In the midst of this plain are two enclosures of CHAP.
VI. ground, one for the senate, and the other for the nuntios. The former is of an oblong shape, surrounded by a kind of rampart or ditch; in the midst of which is erected, at the time of election, a temporary building of wood, called *szopa*, covered at top and open at the sides. Near it is the other enclosure for the nuntios, of a circular shape, from which it derives its name of *kola* or circle, within which there is no building erected, the nuntios assembling in the open air. When the two chambers are joined, they meet within the *kola*, the senators chairs and the benches for the nuntios being ranged in the same regular order as in the senate-house at Warsaw, while the seat of the primate is placed in the middle. The *szopa* is always pulled down at the conclusion of the election; so that I could only trace the site of the inclosures, the ramparts of earth remaining in the same state. I had an opportunity, however, of seeing a painting representing the *szopa* and whole scene of election, which, as I was informed, was perfectly accurate.

But before I describe the election, it may be necessary to give a short detail of the principal occurrences which precede that ceremony.

Upon the king's demise the interregnum commences: the regal authority is then vested in the archbishop of Gnesna primate of Poland, as interrex or regent. He announces the death of the king by circular letters, convokes the dietines and diets of convocation; and, in a word, performs all the functions of royalty during the vacancy in the throne.

The diet, which is first convened upon the sovereign's decease, is called the diet of convocation, and is always held at Warsaw, previous to the diet of election, which assembles

BOOK I. in the plain of Wola. The sovereign authority resides in this assembly, in the same manner as in those which are summoned while the throne is filled. The primate presides like the king, with this difference, that he does not place himself upon the throne, but sits in an armed chair stationed in the middle of the senate-house. The diet issues out acts or ordinances, arranges or changes the form of government, settles the *Pacta Conventa*, and appoints the meeting of the diet of election. The interval between the death of the king and the nomination of his successor is uncertain; its longer or shorter duration depending upon the intrigues and cabals of the candidates, or the pleasure of those foreign powers, who give law to Poland. It is always a state of turbulence and licentiousness; the kingdom is divided into endless parties and factions; justice is in a manner suspended; and the nobles commit every disorder with impunity.

Unanimity * being requisite in all matters of state, it is easy to conceive the delays and cabals, the influence and corruption, employed to gain the members in the diet of convocation. As soon as all the points are adjusted, whether the acts have passed unanimously or otherwise, the members, previous to their separation, enter into a general confederacy to support and maintain the resolutions of the diet.

At the appointed day the diet of election is assembled, during which Warsaw and its environs is a scene of confusion, and frequently of bloodshed. The chief nobility have large bodies of troops in their service, and repair to the diet attended by their numerous vassals and a large retinue of

* This unanimity, in fact, does not exist; for the strongest side forces the weaker to accede or to retire. Yet in the diet of 1768 it was enacted, that in the diets of convocation state questions could only be carried unanimously. Several diets of convocation have been frequently assembled before all the affairs could be finally arranged.

domestics ; while each petty baron, who can afford to maintain them, parades about with his retainers and slaves.

On the day in which the diet of election is opened, the primate, senate, and nobility, repair to the cathedral of Warsaw, to hear mass and a sermon ; from whence they proceed in due order to the plain of Wola. The senators enter the *szopa*, and the nuntios take their places within the *kola* ; while the other nobles are stationed in the plain. The senate and the nuntios, after having passed their respective resolutions, as in the ordinary diets, assemble together in the *kola*, when the primate, seated in the middle, lays before them the objects to be taken into consideration ; the *Pacta Conventa*, settled at the diet of convocation, are read and approved, all necessary arrangements made, and the day of election appointed. The diet then gives audience to the foreign ministers, who are permitted by recommendation to interfere in the choice of a king, and to the advocates of the several candidates. All these affairs take up several days ; and would perhaps never be terminated, as unanimity is requisite, if the assembly was not overawed by the foreign troops, who are always quartered near the plain of election.

Upon the day appointed for the election, the senate and nuntios assemble, as before, in the *kola*, while the nobles are ranged in the open field in separate bodies, according to their several palatinates, with standards borne before them, and the principal officers of each district on horseback.

The primate, having declared the names of the candidates, kneels down and chants a hymn ; after which the senators and nuntios join the gentry of their respective palatinates : then the primate, on horseback, or in a carriage, goes round the plain to the different bodies of the gentry as they are stationed according to their palatinates ; and,

BOOK
I. having collected the votes, proclaims the successful candidate. Each noble does not give his vote separately, for that would be endless; but when the primate goes round, the collected body of each palatinate name the person they espouse. At the conclusion of this ceremony the assembly breaks up.

On the following day the senate and nuntios return to the plain; when the successful candidate is again proclaimed, and a deputy dispatched to acquaint him of his election, as no candidate is allowed to be present. After the proclamation, the gentry retire; and the diet, having appointed the diet of coronation, is dissolved.

All elections are contested; but for some time they have always been unanimous upon the spot, from the terror of a neighbouring army. In case of an opposition, the party who will not accede retire from the plain, and remonstrate against the election; and, if they are sufficiently strong, a civil war ensues. If it were not for the interference of foreign troops, the confusion, disorder, and bloodshed attending such a popular election (as was formerly the case), would be better conceived than described: and thus the country draws some advantage from an evil, which is considered by the Poles as the disgrace and scandal of every election.

C H A P. VII.

- I. Finances and taxes of Poland.—Revenue of the king.—*
II. Commerce.—General exports and imports.—Causes of
the low state of trade.—Failure of the plan of opening the
navigation of the Dniester.—Navigation of the Notex.—
III. Military establishment.—Corps of Ulans.—State of the
army.—Confederacies.—Russian troops.

I. FINANCES and TAXES of POLAND.

THE following extract from the proceedings of the diet CHAP.
VII.
of 1768 will serve to shew the annual receipts and disbursements of government before the dismemberment:

“The annual revenues of the treasury of the crown*,
amount to 10,748,245 florins = £298,562. 7s. 2½d. The
expences to 17,050,000 = £473,611. 2s. 2½d. It would
be necessary, therefore, to increase the revenues, so as to
answer the excess of the expences above the receipts,
namely, 6,301,755 florins = £175,048. 15s. but as a
part of the antient revenues must be abolished, the new
taxes must yield 10,236,737 florins = £284,353. 13s. 4d.

“The treasury of Lithuania produces the annual sum of
3,646,628 = £101,295. 4s. 6d. the expences amount to
6,478,142 = £179,948. 7s. 6d. The revenues ought
therefore to be augmented 2,831,514 = £78,653. 3s. 4d.
But as some antient imposts must be abolished, the new
taxes must yield 4,250,481 = £118,068, 18s. 4d.†”

* Poland, exclusive of Lithuania.

† Loix et Const. de la Diete de 1768, p. 70.

BOOK
I.

Poland, by the late dismemberment, lost nearly half of her annual income; namely, that part arising from the starosties now occupied by the partitioning powers, from the duties * upon merchandize sent down the Vistula to Dantzic, and particularly from the profits of the salt mines in Austrian Poland. Those of Wielitka † alone amounted to 3,500,000 Polish florins, or £97,222 sterling, which was nearly equal to a fourth part of the government revenues before the partition.

In order to supply this deficiency, it became necessary to new-model and increase the taxes. Accordingly, in the diet of 1775, a few of the old taxes were abolished, some were augmented, and others were added, so as to make the neat revenues as high as they were before the dismemberment.

The principal taxes are as follow :

Poll tax of the Jews. Each Jew, both male and female, infants and adults, pays three Polish florins, or about 1*s.* 8*d.* *per annum*; this imposition, which is of very old standing, was augmented in 1775 a florin per head.

A fourth of the starosties. These are the great fiefs of the crown, in the king's gift, holden by the possessors during life. The starost enjoys, beside large estates in land, territorial jurisdiction; the fourth of his revenues arising from the land is paid into the treasury of the republic. By the late change of government these starosties, after the demise of the persons now enjoying them, and of those who have the reversion, are to revert to the public, and their whole amount to be appropriated to the expences of government ‡.

Excise of beer, mead, and spirituous liquors distilled from corn. This article must not be inconsiderable, considering

* The greatest part of these duties are now paid to the king of Prussia.

† See Book II. Chapter II.

‡ See the account of the Permanent Council, p. 65.

the quantity of corn grown in Poland, which, for want of external commerce, cannot be exported, and the propensity of the people to spirituous liquors. CHAP. VII.

Monopoly of Tobacco. Different Duties upon Importation and Exportation. Formerly all the nobles were permitted to import and export foreign goods and merchandize free of duty, a privilege which effectually diminished, and almost absorbed, the profits of the tax in question. In 1775 this right was abolished; and all imported and exported commodities now pay duty without any distinction. Considering the great quantity of foreign manufactures introduced into Poland, and chiefly for the use of the nobility, this alteration must make a considerable addition to the revenues of government.

Tax upon Chimnies. Before the partition, this tax existed only in Lithuania; in 1775 it was rendered general and considerably augmented; it is the most profitable of all the taxes, but lies very heavy upon the common people and peasants. Each chimney is assessed in the following proportion. In palaces, or houses of the chief nobility, at 16 Polish florins *per ann.* = about 8*s.* 2½*d.*; houses of the principal merchants in Warsaw at 15 = 7*s.* 7*d.*; other brick houses from 10 to 14 = from 5*s.* 7¼*d.* to 7*s.* 3¼*d.*; wooden houses from 6 to 8 = from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.* 6½*d.*; best houses in other large towns 12 = 6*s.* 8*d.*; in the small towns and villages from 6 to 8 = 3*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.* 6½*d.*; peasants cottages from 5 to 7 = 2*s.* 9¾*d.* to 4*s.* The peasants pay no other tax to government; and indeed, considering their poverty, and the oppression of their lords and great nobility, this addition is more than they can well support.

BOOK I. All these several imposts amount to 11,628,461 Polish florins, or £323,012 sterling.

The king received before the partition a neat revenue of 7,000,000 Polish florins, or £194,500, which arose from the royal demesnes and the profit of the salt-works. In order to indemnify him for the loss of the salt-works, and the royal estates situated in the dismembered provinces, he draws from the public treasury 2,666,666 Polish florins, or £74,074 sterling; which, in addition to the remaining royal demesnes, and some starosties granted for his use, make his present income the same as before the dismemberment. Out of this income he only pays his household expences and menial servants; the salary of the great officers of state, and the other general expences, being supplied from the public fund. The whole revenue of government, including the royal demesnes and starosties lately granted to the king, amount to 15,961,795 Polish florins, or £443,938; and by extracting the 7,000,000 florins appropriated to the king's privy purse, there remains for the support of the army, the salaries of the great officers of state, and other general charges, only 8,961,795 florins, or £248,938. Is. a sum so small, that it hardly seems in any wise equal to the purposes for which it is designed. And yet it is nearly adequate to the ordinary current expences: for the regular army is small, the great officers of state receive little or nothing from the public treasury, being amply rewarded with the royal fiefs which are so numerous and profitable; each palatinate pays its own officers from its private treasury; while the several judges, justices of the peace, and other civil officers who enjoy territorial jurisdiction, may enrich themselves sufficiently by extortions and oppressions without any salary.

II. COMMERCE OF POLAND.

CHAP.
VII.

Poland contains several navigable rivers, which flow through its dominions in all directions, and convey its exports to the havens of the Baltic. By means of the Vistula and the rivers falling into it, the productions of the palatinates of Cracow, Lublin, and Masovia are sent to Thorn, and from thence to Dantzic and Konigsburg. By the Niemen the commodities of Lithuania are transported to Memmel; and by the Duna those of Eastern Lithuania and White Russia to Riga. The chief exports of Poland are all species of grain, hemp, flax, cattle, masts, planks, timber for ship-building, pitch and tar, honey, wax, tallow, pot-ash, and leather: its imports are foreign wines, cloths, stuffs, manufactured silks and cotton, fine linen, hardware, tin, copper, silver and gold, glass ware, furs, &c.

From the various productions and great fertility of Poland, its trade might be carried to a considerable height; but the following causes tend to suppress the spirit of commerce.

1. The nobles are degraded if they engage in any kind of traffic.

2. The burghers of the large towns are not rich enough to establish any manufactures; and either through want of industry, or through dread of excessive extortions from the principal nobility, leave almost all the retail-trade in the hands of foreigners and Jews. The inhabitants of the small towns, who are exposed to greater oppressions, are still more disqualified from pursuing any branch of commerce.

3. The peasants being slaves, and the property of their master, cannot retire from the place of their nativity without his consent. John Albert, observing that commerce could

BOOK I. never flourish while this restriction subsisted, enacted, that one peasant in a family should be permitted to quit his village, either for the purpose of trade or literature; but the clause, which ordered them to request and obtain the consent of the lord, frustrated the purpose of this excellent law, and rendered it absolutely nugatory*.

As the Poles are obliged to draw from foreign countries the greatest part of the manufactured goods necessary for their interior consumption, the specie which is exported exceeds the imported more than 20,000,000 Polish florins, or £555,555.

Poland has been called the granary of the North, an appellation which it seems to deserve rather from its former than from its present fertility. For its lands not being sufficiently cultivated, as well on account of the slavery of the peasants, as the unequal distribution of property, the exportation of corn is by no means answerable to the general nature of the soil, or the extent of its provinces, which, if properly improved, would be capable of supplying half Europe with grain.

Several palatinates in Poland, and more particularly Podolia and Kiovia, are extremely adapted to the production of grain: though many parts of these provinces remain uncultivated, yet the portion which is in tillage yields a greater supply, than is necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants.

The only method of employing the overplus is to extract from it a spirituous liquor. But an ingenious Polish author† has shown, that the provinces in question might undoubt-

* Stat. Reg. Pol. p. 169.

† Mr. de Wiebicki, a Polish gentleman of great learning and information. The treatise alluded to in this and other places

of this work, is written in the Polish language, and called *Patriotic Letters*, addressed to the Chancellor Zamoisiki.

edly send their grain down the Dniester through Turkish Moldavia; and open an intercourse with the ports of the Black Sea. This project was formerly in agitation. CHAP.
VII.

During the reign of Sigismund Augustus, Cardinal Commandon, in travelling through Podolia, being much struck with the fertility of that province, first suggested the measure; and Sigismund, having obtained the concurrence of the grand seignor, actually dispatched some Poles down the Dniester, to explore the state of the river. But the persons employed on this occasion, happening after a few days voyage to meet with some impediments from rocks and sand banks, declared, without any further examination, that the Dniester was not navigable; and although Commandon represented to the king, that the obstacles pointed out might, without any great difficulty, be surmounted; yet the project was postponed, and never again revived*.

The judicious author above-mentioned†, in touching upon this subject, laments the ignorance of his countrymen; and ridicules the precipitation with which they abandoned a plan so favourable to the improvement of their commerce. He shows, that the inattention of the Poles to the natural advantages of their country has been exemplified in another instance of a similar kind. By means of the Notez, a river of Great Poland, which falls into the Oder, the Poles might have conveyed grain into Silesia, and from thence down the Oder into other parts of Germany. But they never attempted the navigation of the Notez, from an ill-founded persuasion of its not being practicable. No sooner, however, had the king of Prussia acquired the country through which that river takes its course, than it was

* Vic de Commandon.

† Mr. de Wiebitzki.

BOOK I. instantaneously, and without undergoing the least alteration, covered with vessels.

III. MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

The king has a corps of 2000 troops in his own pay, and entirely dependent upon himself. These troops consist chiefly of Ułans or light horse, who furnish alternately the escort which accompanies his majesty. We saw a small party, about thirty, who were encamped near his villa, and had afterwards an opportunity of examining them more minutely. *The Ułans are chiefly Tartars, many of them Mahometans, and are greatly to be relied on for their fidelity. The corps is composed of gentlemen and vassals: they all form in squadron together, but are differently armed; they both indiscriminately carry sabres and pistols, but the gentlemen only bear lances of about ten feet long; instead of which, the others are armed with carabines. Their dress is a high fur cap, a green and red jacket, pantaloons of the same colour, which cover the boots as low as the ankle; and a petticoat of white cloth descending to the knee. Their heads are all shaved after the Polish manner*. Their lances, at the end of which is fastened a long swallow-tailed flag of black and red cloth, are shorter and weaker than those of the Austrian Croats, but they carry and use it much in the same manner, and with no less dexterity. The men were of different sizes, and seemed fine and well-grown, *but were greatly disfigured with their petticoats and pantaloons. The horses on which they were mounted were about fourteen hands high, of remarkable spirit, with great strength of shoulder. Poland is much esteemed for its breed of horses; and the king of Prussia procures his light cavalry from this country. The

* See Book II. Chapter II.

breed, however, has been almost ruined during the late civil wars, and the nobility are now chiefly supplied from Tartary. CHAP. VII.

The armies of Poland and Lithuania are independent of each other, being separately commanded, and under the direction of the respective great generals. In time of war the king in person may lead the forces of the republic. Formerly the power of these great generals was uncontrolled, excepting by the diet, to which they were only amenable for their administration. Their enormous authority, however, underwent some limitation in 1768, by the appointment of a committee of war, of which they are perpetual presidents; and was still further circumscribed by the establishment of the military department in the permanent council, whose office has been already described *.

In 1778 the following was the state of the Polish army.

Troops of Poland.

	Complement.	Effective men.	Wanting.
Staff officers	27	27	
Cavalry	4997	4708	289
Infantry, including artillery	7286	6703	583
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total of Poland	12310	11438	872

Army of Lithuania.

Staff officers	25	25	
Cavalry	2670	2497	173
Infantry, including artillery	4770	4465	305
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total of Lithuania	7465	6987	478

Total of the Polish and Lithuanian troops,

19775	18425	1350
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* See p. 84.

BOOK

I.

The standing army of Poland being ~~in~~ inconsiderable, the defence of the country, in case of invasion, is left to the gentry at large, who are assembled by regular summons from the king with the consent of the diet. Every palatinate is divided into districts, over each of which proper officers are appointed; and every person possessing free and noble tenures is bound to military service, either singly or at the head of a certain number of his retainers, according to the extent and nature of his possessions. The troops thus assembled are obliged only to serve for a limited time, and are not under the necessity of marching beyond the limits of their country.

The mode of levying and maintaining this army is exactly similar to that practised under the feudal system. At present, though it is almost totally unfit for the purposes of repelling a foreign enemy, it is yet a powerful instrument in the hands of domestic faction: for the expedition with which it is raised under the feudal regulations, facilitates the formation of these dangerous confederacies, which suddenly start up on the contested election of a sovereign, or whenever the nobles are at variance with each other.

There are two sorts of confederacies.

The first are those formed with the consent of the king, senate, or equestrian order, assembled in the diet; by which the whole nation confederates for the good of the country.

The second are the confederacies of the several palatinates, which unite for the purpose of redressing any grievances, or remonstrating against encroachments of the sovereign power. These may be particular, or general, and are usually the forerunners of a civil war. The general confederacy, which

which is always in opposition to the king, is called Rokoz, and is formed by the union of the particular confederacies.

As every Polish gentleman has a right to maintain as many troops as he chuses, it may easily be conceived, that each palatinate is the scene of occasional disputes and petty contentions between the principal nobles, and sometimes even between their respective retainers. In such a dreadful state of anarchy, it is a wonder that the whole kingdom is not a perpetual scene of endless commotions, and that the nation is composed of any thing else but lawless banditti. It redounds, therefore, greatly to the honour of the natural disposition of the Poles, that amid all these incentives to confusion, a much greater degree of tranquillity, than could be well expected, is maintained.

As I am now delineating the military establishment, I must not omit the Russian troops, which have been so long quartered in this country, that they may almost be considered as forming part of the national army. The whole kingdom is entirely under the protection, or, in other words, under the power of Russia, who rules over it with the same unbounded authority as over one of its provinces. The king is in effect little more than a viceroy; while the Russian ambassador has the real sovereignty, and regulates all the affairs of the kingdom according to the direction of his court. The empress maintains within the country about 10,000 soldiers. Every garrison is composed of Russian and native troops; a thousand of the former are stationed at Warsaw; and each gate of the town is guarded by a Russian and Polish sentinel.

In a word, the Russian troops hold the nobles in subjection, and for the present keep under internal feuds and commotions. But when Poland (if ever that event should happen) is again

BOOK I. left to herself, the same fury of contending parties, now smothered, but not annihilated, will probably break out with redoubled fury; and again generate those disturbances which have long convulsed this unhappy kingdom: and to what a wretched state is that country reduced, which owes its tranquillity to the interposition of a foreign army?

H. A. P. VIII.

Wretched state of Poland.—Division of the inhabitants: I. Nobles or Gentry; II. Clergy; III. Burghers; IV. Peasants.—State of vassalage.—Its fatal effects.—Instances of a few nobles who have given liberty to their peasants.—Advantages resulting from that practice.—V. Jews.—Population of Poland.

I Consider Polish liberty the source of Polish wretchedness; and Poland appears to me, as far as I can judge by the specimens which fell under my observation, of all countries the most distressed. Nor indeed do the natives themselves attempt to palliate or deny this melancholy fact. Upon expressing my surprize at one instance of the abuse of liberty, to which I had been myself a witness, to a person well versed in the laws of the country, he returned for answer, “If you knew the confusion and anarchy of our constitution, you would be surprized at nothing: many grievances necessarily exist even in the best regulated states; what then must be the case in ours, which of all governments is the most detestable?” Another lamenting the dreadful situation of his country, said to me, “The name of Poland still remains, but the nation no longer exists: an universal corruption and venality pervades all ranks of people. Many of the first nobility do not blush to receive pensions from foreign courts. One professes himself publicly an Austrian, a second a Prussian, a third a Frenchman, and a fourth a Russian.”

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The present situation of the Polish nation impressed my mind with the most pathetic ideas of fallen greatness; and I could not consider, without a mixture of regret and sympathy, a people, who formerly gave law to the North, reduced to so low a state of insignificance and domestic misery.

The nation has few manufactures, scarcely any commerce; a king almost without authority; the nobles in a state of uncontrouled anarchy; the peasants groaning under a yoke of feudal despotism far worse than the tyranny of an absolute monarch. I never before observed such an inequality of fortune, such sudden transition from extreme riches to extreme poverty; wherever I turned my eyes, luxury and wretchedness were constant neighbours. In a word, the boasted Polish liberty is not enjoyed in the smallest degree by the bulk of the people, but is confined among the nobles or gentry. The truth of these remarks will best appear from the following account of the inhabitants.

The inhabitants of Poland are nobles, clergy, citizens, and peasants.

I. The Nobles are divided into two classes; the members of the senate, and of the equestrian order. Having, upon a former occasion *, described the powers which senators enjoy in their collective capacity, it will be unnecessary to repeat them in this place.

We should be greatly deceived if we were to understand the word noble in our sense of that term. In the laws of Poland a noble is a person who possesses a freehold † estate,
or

* See p. 95.

† Some citizens have the right of possessing lands within a league of the town which they inhabit; but these lands are not

free and noble, and are always distinguished from the freeholds of the nobles; the latter are called in the statute law *terrigenæ*, or earthborn, free to live where they please, to distinguish

or who can prove his descent from ancestors formerly possessing a freehold, following no trade or commerce, and at liberty to choose the place of his habitation. This description includes all persons above burghers and peasants. The members of this body below the rank of senators are called, in a collective state, the equestrian order; and in their individual capacities nobles, gentlemen, freemen, or landholders, which appellations are synonymous.

All the nobles or gentry are, in the strict letter of the law, equal by birth; so that all honours and titles are supposed to add nothing to their real dignity †. By means of their representatives in the diet, they have a share in the legislative authority, and in some cases, as in the election of a king, they assemble in person, when each noble is capable of being elected a nuntio, of bearing the office of a senator, and of presenting himself as a candidate upon a vacancy in the throne. No noble can be arrested without being previously convicted, except in cases of high treason, murder, and rob-

distinguish them from persons necessarily inhabiting towns, "Quos leges nominant terrigenas, non alii sunt, quam nobiles; exprimitque prius vocabulum, polonicum *Ziemianin*, quo in agris sibi et suo jure vivens intelligitur, quæ nobilium in Polonia est conditio, qui non civitatis & opida, sed sua prædia habitantes, vitam suo arbitrio disponunt." Leng. Jus Pub. I. 297. a true feudal distinction. They are also styled indigenæ or natives, and concives or fellow-citizens of the republic.

† It is particularly stipulated, that titles give no precedence; which is called in the *Pacta Conventa* of Augustus III. "Jus æqualitatis inter cives regni," &c. upon which Lengnick makes the following remark, "Omnis hæc nobilitas natura est æqualis, quod omnes ex illâ, ad eadem jura, in eandem spem nascuntur. Tituli Principum, Marchionum, Comitum, quibus alii præ aliis

"insigniantur, vocabula sunt, quæ statum non immutant, & qui illis gaudent, non alio, quam nobilium jure, sua tenent. Neque Polonia alias Principum, alias Marchionum, alias Comitum, alias Equitum leges novit; sed omnibus una nobilium lex scripta est. Inde in conclavi Nuntiorum Principum & Comitum nominibus fulgentes, cæteris permixtos videmus. Nullum ibi inter modici agelli & paucorum jugerum, ac aliquot oppidorum multorumque vicorum dominum, observatur discrimen. Præcedunt alii, alii sequuntur non ex titulis familiarum, sed ad palatinatum terrarumque, ex quibus nuntii missi, ordinem. Eadem in senatu ratio. Assignat loca, muneris non stemmatis dignitas. Et qui senator non princeps, non comes, præcedit principem, ac comitem, non senatorem." Pac. Con.

p. 31.

BOOK I bery on the highway, and then he must be surprized in the fact, nor can he be capitally punished but by order of the diet.

The definition of a noble being thus applied not only to persons actually possessing land, but even to the descendants of former landholders, comprehends such a large body of men, that many of them are in a state of extreme indigence; and as, according to the Polish law, they lose their nobility if they follow trade or commerce, the most needy generally devote themselves to the service of the richer nobles, who, like the old feudal barons, are constantly attended by a large number of retainers. As all nobles, without any distinction, enjoy the right of voting, as well for the choice of nuntios, as at the election of a king, their poverty and their number is frequently productive of great inconvenience. Hence the king, who has justly conceived a great veneration for the English constitution, wished to introduce into the new code a law similar to ours relating to county elections, that no person should be intitled to a vote in the choice of a nuntio but those who possessed a certain qualification in land *. This proposition, however, has been received with such marks of dissatisfaction, that we may conclude it will never be allowed to pass into a law.

II. The Clergy. Micislaus, the first sovereign of Poland A. D. who embraced Christianity, granted several immunities and 966. estates to the clergy. His successors and the rich nobles fol-

* Connor mentions a similar attempt of John Casimir, which failed of success. " King Casimir observing the great abuses that spring from every little gentleman's pretended privilege to sit in the little diet, ordered that none should have a vote there, in electing a deputy or nuntio,

" but such only as had at least two hundred crowns a year, whereupon the palatine of Posenania, offering to put this law in execution in his province, was not only affronted, but also narrowly escaped with his life." Hist. of Poland, v. II. p. 104.

lowed his example; and the riches of this body continued increasing as well from royal as private donations, until the diet, apprehensive lest in process of time the greatest part of the estates should pass into the hands of the clergy, forbade by different laws, and particularly in 1669, the alienation of lands to the church, under penalty of forfeiture: and under the present reign several estates have been confiscated which had been bestowed upon the clergy since that period.

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From the time of the first establishment of the catholic religion by Cardinal Egidius, nuntio from Pope John XII. the bishops have been admitted into the senate as king's counsellors. They were usually appointed by the king, and confirmed by the pope; but, since the creation of the permanent council, they are nominated by his majesty out of three candidates chosen by the council: a bishop, the moment he is appointed, is of course entitled to all the privileges of a senator. The archbishop of Gnesna is primate, as we have before observed, the first senator in rank, and viceroy during an interregnum.

The ecclesiastics are all freemen, and, in some particular instances, have their own courts of justice, in which the canon law is practised. Of these courts of justice peculiar to the clergy, there are three sorts; I. The consistorial, under the jurisdiction of each bishop in his diocese; II. The metropolitan, under the primate, to which an appeal lies from the bishop's court; III. That of the pope's nuntio, which is the supreme ecclesiastical judicature within the kingdom, to which an appeal may be made both from the decision of the primate and of the bishop. In cases of divorce, dispensations for marriages, and in other instances the parties, as in all catholic countries, must apply to the pope, by which means no inconsiderable degree of money is absorbed by the see of Rome.

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In most civil affairs the clergy are judged in the ordinary courts of justice. In criminal causes, an ecclesiastic is first arrested by the civil powers, then judged in the consistory, and, if convicted, he is remitted to the civil power, in order to undergo the penalty annexed to the crime of which he has been found guilty.

One great ecclesiastical abuse, which has been abolished in most other catholic countries, still exists in this kingdom : when the Pope sends a bull into Poland, the clergy publish and carry it into execution, without the confirmation or approbation of the civil power.

Before 1538 ecclesiastics were allowed to hold civil employments ; but in that year priests were declared incapable of being promoted to secular offices. They were also exempted from paying any taxes ; but this exemption has been wisely taken off, and they are now rated in the same manner as the laity, with this difference, that their contributions are not called taxes, but charitable subsidies.

III. The next class of people are the burghers, inhabiting towns, whose privileges were formerly far more considerable than they are at present.

The history of all countries, in which the feudal system has been established, bears testimony to the pernicious policy of holding the lower classes of men in a state of slavish subjection. In process of time a concurrence of causes * contributed gradually to soften the rigour of this servitude with regard to the burghers, in several of the feudal kingdoms. Among other circumstances tending to their protection, the most favourable was the formation of several cities into bo-

* It does not enter into the plan of this work to describe these causes : the reader will find them amply and ably illustrated

in a View of the State of Europe, prefixed to Dr. Robertson's History of Charles V.

dies politic, with the privilege of exercising municipal jurisdiction. This institution took its rise in Italy, the first country in Europe which emerged from barbarism; and was from thence transferred to France and Germany. It was first introduced into Poland about 1250, during the reign of Boleslaus the chaste, who being instructed in the Teutonic or German laws by Henry the bearded duke of Wratislaw, granted first to Cracow, and afterwards to several other towns, the privileges possessed by the German cities: this body of rights is called in the Statutes of Poland *Jus Magdeburgicum et Teutonicum*; and the cause assigned for its introduction is, that no city could flourish and increase under the Polish or feudal laws*. In the 13th and following centuries the kings and great barons built several towns, to all which they granted a charter of incorporation, conceived in the following terms†: “*Transfero banc villam ex jure Polonico in jus Teutonicum.*” The beneficial tendency of this political regulation soon appeared: by a sudden increase of population and wealth, the burghers of some of the principal free towns acquired such a degree of importance and consideration, as to give their assent to treaties, and send deputies to the national assembly: a noble was not degraded by being a burgher, and a burgher was capable of being an officer of the crown. A treaty‡ which Casimir the Great entered into with the knights of the Teutonic order, was not only signed by the king and the principal nobles, but also by the burghers of Cracow, Posen, Sandomir, and other towns; and under the same monarch Wiernesk §, burgomaster of Cracow, was submarshal and treasurer of the crown.

The

* Leng. Jus Pub. p. 524.

† Chromer.

‡ Dlugossius L. LX. p. 1067.

* This Wiernesk was so rich, that in 1363, when the emperor Charles IV. married at Cracow Elizabeth grand-daughter of Casimir,

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The burghers enjoyed the privileges just mentioned during the Jaghellon line, as appears from the different acts of Sigismund I. and his son Sigismund Augustus. * During the reign of the former the nobles endeavoured to exclude the deputies of Cracow from the diet; but that monarch not only confirmed the right of that city to send representatives, but even decreed, that the citizens were included within the class of nobles *.

When the crown became wholly elective, the burghers suffered continual encroachments on their privileges at every nomination of a new sovereign; they lost the right of possessing lands, excepting within a small distance of their towns, of sending deputies to the diets, and were of course excluded from all share of the legislative authority. The principal cause of this exclusion was, that as the burghers were not obliged, by the nature of their tenures, to march against the enemy, but were only under the necessity of furnishing arms and waggons for the use of the army; they incurred, therefore, the contempt of the warlike gentry, who, in the true spirit of feudal arrogance, considered all occupations, but that of war, as beneath a freeman, and all persons, not bound to military services, as unqualified for the administration of public affairs.

The burghers, however, still enjoy a considerable portion of freedom, and possess the following immunities: they elect their own burgomaster and council; they regulate their interior police, and have their own criminal courts of justice,

mir, he gave a most sumptuous entertainment to his sovereign, to the emperor, kings of Hungary, Denmark, Cyprus, and other princes, who were present at the marriage: beside other magnificent gifts which he bestowed upon the company, he presented Casimir with a sum equal to the portion of the

bride. Chromer, p. 324.

* Consules Cracovienses, &c. debere et posse omnibus consiliis, quibus alii nuntii terrestres aderunt, &c. more solito consultari. Statuta Pol. p. 8. Cracovia est incorporata et unita nobilitati; ib. tessarumque civitatumque nuntio, p. 353.

which

which decide without appeal. A burgher, when plaintiff against a noble, is obliged to carry the cause into the courts of justice belonging to the nobles, where the judgement is final : when defendant, he must be cited before the magistrates of his own town, from whence an appeal lies only to the king in the assessorial tribunal. To this exemption from the jurisdiction of the nobles, though only in one species of causes, the burghers owe whatever degree of independence they still retain ; as without this immunity they would long ago have been reduced to a state of vassalage.

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IV. The peasants in Poland, as in all feudal governments, are serfs or slaves ; and the value of an estate is not estimated so much from its extent, as from the number of its peasants, who are transferred from one master to another like so many head of cattle.

The peasants, however, are not all in an equal state of subjection : they are distinguished into two sorts ; 1. German ; 2. Natives.

1. During the reign of Boleslaus the Chaste, and more particularly in that of Casimir the Great, many Germans settled in Poland, who were indulged in the use of the German laws* ; and their descendants still continue to enjoy several privileges not possessed by the generality of Polish peasants. The good effects of these privileges are very visible in the general state of their domestic economy ; their villages are better built, and their fields better cultivated, than those which belong to the native Poles ; they possess more cattle, pay their quit-rents to their lords with greater exactness ; and, when compared with the others, are cleaner and neater in their persons.

* Lubieniski, p. 108. Florus Pol. p. 118. Chromer, 319.

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2. The slavery of the Polish peasants is very antient, and was always extremely rigorous. Until the time of Casimir the Great, the lord could put his peasant to death with impunity, and, when the latter had no children, considered himself as the heir, and seized all his effects. In 1347 Casimir prescribed a fine for the murder of a peasant; and enacted, that, in case of his decease without issue, his next heir should inherit*. The same sovereign also decreed, that a peasant was capable of bearing arms as a soldier, and that therefore he ought to be considered as a freeman. But these and other regulations, by which that amiable monarch endeavoured to alleviate the miseries of the vassals, have proved ineffectual against the power and tyranny of the nobles, and have been either abrogated or eluded. That law, which gives the property of a peasant dying without issue to the next of kin, was instantly rendered nugatory by an old Polish maxim, "That no slave can carry on any process against his master;" and even the fine for his murder was seldom levied, on account of the numerous difficulties which attend the conviction of a noble for this or any other enormity. So far indeed from being inclined to soften the servitude of their vassals, the nobles have ascertained and established it by repeated and positive ordinances. *An able Polish writer, in a benevolent treatise † addressed to the chancellor Zamoiski, observes, that in the Statutes of Poland there are above an hundred laws unfavourable to the peasants, which, among other grievances, erect summary tribunals subject to no appeals, and impose the severest penalties upon those who quit their villages without leave. From these numerous and rigorous edicts to prevent the elopement of the peasants, the

* Stat. Pol. I. p. 24.

† Patriotic Letters.

same humane author justly infers the extreme wretchedness of this oppressed class of men, who cannot be detained in the place of their nativity but by the terror of the severest punishment. CHAP.
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The native peasants may be divided into two sorts:
1. Peasants of the crown; 2. Peasants belonging to individuals.

1. Peasants of the crown are those who are settled in the great fiefs of the kingdoms, or in the royal demesnes, and are under the jurisdictions of the starosts. If the crown-peasants are oppressed by these judges, they may lodge a complaint in the royal courts of justice; and should the starost endeavour to obstruct the process, the king can order the chancellor to issue a safe conduct, by which he takes the injured person under his protection: and although in most cases the corrupt administration of justice, and the superior influence of the starosts, prevent a complainant from obtaining any effectual redress even in the king's courts; yet, the very possibility of procuring relief is some check to injustice, and some alleviation of distress.

2. Peasants belonging to individuals are at the absolute disposal of their master, and have scarcely any positive security, either for their properties or their lives. Until 1768 the Statutes of Poland only exacted a fine from a lord who killed his slave; but in that year a decree passed, that the murder of a peasant was a capital crime; yet, as the law in question requires such an accumulation of evidence * as is seldom to be obtained, it has more the appearance of protection than the reality.

* The murderer must be taken in the fact, and there are not more than two witnesses, he must be proved by two gentlemen or four peasants; and if he is not taken in the fact, and there are not more than two witnesses, he only pays a fine.

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How deplorable must be the state of that country, when a law of that nature was thought requisite to be enacted, yet is found incapable of being enforced. The generality, indeed, of the Polish nobles are not inclined either to establish or give efficacy to any regulations in favour of the peasants, whom they scarcely consider as entitled to the common rights of humanity*. A few nobles, however, of benevolent hearts and enlightened understandings, have acted upon different principles, and have ventured upon the expedient of giving liberty to their vassals. The event has showed this project to be no less judicious than humane, no less friendly to their own interests than to the happiness of their peasants: for it appears that in the districts, in which the new arrangement has been introduced, the population of their villages is considerably increased, and the revenues of their estates augmented in a triple proportion.

The first noble who granted freedom to his peasants was Zamoiski, formerly great chancellor, who in 1760 enfranchised six villages in the palatinate of Masovia. These villages were, in 1777, visited by the author of the Patriotic Letters, from whom I received the following information:

On inspecting the parish-registers of births from 1758 to 1768, that is, during the ten years of slavery immediately preceding their enfranchisement, he found the number of births 434; in the first ten years of their freedom, from 1760 to 1770, 620; and from 1770 to the beginning of 1777, 585 births. By these extracts it appeared that

During the first period there were only 43 births	} each year.
second period 62	
third period 77	

* Zamoiski, in his new code of laws, has warmly spoken in favour of the peasants; but such are the national prejudices, that it is uncertain whether the diet will receive

that code, and confirm decrees, though formed upon the common and natural rights of mankind.

If we suppose an improvement of this sort to take place throughout the kingdom; how great would be the increase of national population !

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The revenues of the six villages, since their enfranchisement, have been augmented in a much greater proportion than their population. In their state of vassalage Zamoiski was obliged, according to the custom of Poland, to build cottages and barns for his peasants; and to furnish them with seed, horses, ploughs, and every implement of agriculture; since their attainment of liberty they are become so easy in their circumstances, as to provide themselves with all these necessaries at their own expence; and they likewise cheerfully pay an annual rent, in lieu of the manual labour, which their master formerly exacted from them. By these means the receipts of this particular estate have been nearly tripled.

Upon signing the deed of enfranchisement of the six villages, their benevolent master intimated some apprehensions to the inhabitants, lest, encouraged by their freedom, they should fall into every species of licentiousness, and commit more disorders than when they were slaves. The simplicity and good sense of their answer is remarkable, "When we had no other property," returned they, "than the stick which we hold in our hands, we were destitute of all encouragement to a right conduct; and, having nothing to lose, acted on all occasions in an inconsiderate manner; but as soon as our houses, our lands, and our cattle, are our own, the fear of forfeiting them will be a constant restraint upon our actions." The sincerity of this assertion was manifested by the event. While they were in a state of servitude, Zamoiski was occasionally obliged to pay fines for

BOOK I. for disorders * committed by his peasants, who, in a state of drunkenness, would attack and sometimes kill passengers: since their freedom he has seldom received any complaints of this sort against them. These circumstances decisively confute the ill-grounded surmises entertained by many Poles, that their vassals are too licentious and ungovernable not to make an ill use of freedom. Zamoiski, pleased with the thriving state of the six villages, has enfranchised the peasants on all his estates.

The example of Zamoiski has been followed by Chreptowitz, vice-chancellor of Lithuania, and the abbé Bryzowski, with similar success. I was informed by a person who had visited the abbé's estate at Pawlowo near Vilna, that the happy countenance and comfortable air of these peasants made them appear a different race of men from the wretched tenants of the neighbouring villages. The peasants, penetrated with a sense of their master's kindness, have erected, at their own expence, a pillar with an inscription expressive of their gratitude and affection.

Prince Stanislaus, nephew to the king of Poland, has warmly patronized the plan of giving liberty to the peasants. His own good sense and natural humanity, improved during his residence in England by a view of that equal liberty which pervades every rank of men, have raised him above the prejudices too prevalent among his countrymen: he has enfranchised four villages not far from Warsaw, in which he has not only emancipated the peasants from their slavery, but even condescends to direct their affairs. I had the honour of holding several conversations with him upon this subject; he explained to me, in the most satisfactory

* Called, in the Polish law, *Pro incontinentiâ subditorum*.

manner, that the grant of freedom was no less advantageous to the lord than to the peasant, provided the former is willing to superintend their conduct for a few years, and to put them in a way of acting for themselves; for such is the ignorance of the generality among the boors, arising from the abject slavery in which they are held, and so little have they been usually left to their own discretion, that few at first are equal to the proper management of a farm. From a conviction of these facts, the prince, whose knowledge and benevolence I shall ever revere, continues his attention to their concerns; he visits their cottages, suggests improvements in agriculture, instructs them in the mode of rearing cattle and bees, and points out the errors into which ignorance and incapacity occasionally betray them.

The example of this prince, great by his rank, but still greater by his humanity, can scarce fail of producing its due effect, especially as he intends giving to the public his arrangements and regulations, and will show how much he has increased his estate and the happiness of his peasants. Still however the condition of these peasants is not permanent; for though a lord grants their freedom, yet he cannot entail it upon them, as his successor may again reduce them to their original state of vassalage. It is, however, in agitation to secure the perpetuity of their liberty, when they are once rendered free; but this attempt is of so delicate a nature, that it must be introduced with great caution, and can only be the work of time.

V. In giving an account of the different classes of men who inhabit this country, I ought not to omit the Jews, as they form no inconsiderable part of its present inhabitants. This people date their introduction into Poland about the
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time of Casimir the Great, and as they enjoy privileges which they scarcely possess in any other country excepting England and Holland, their numbers have surprizingly increased. Lengnich, whom I have often quoted, says of them, that they "monopolize * the commerce and trade of the country, " keep the inns and taverns, are stewards to the nobility, in " short, they seem to have so much influence, that nothing " can be bought or sold without the intervention of a Jew." Under John Sobieski they were so highly favoured, that his administration was invidiously called a Jewish junto: he farmed to the Jews the royal demesnes, and put such confidence in them as raised great discontent among the nobility. After his death, an antient law of Sigismund I. was revived and inserted in the *Pacła Conventa* of Augustus II., that no Jew or person of low birth should be capable of farming the royal revenues.

In some towns, as at Casimir, Posen, &c. the Jews are permitted to settle, but in other places they are only allowed to reside during the time of fairs, or when the dietines are assembled; but the laws are seldom put in force against them. I endeavoured to obtain a probable account of their number, but I found this to be no easy matter, although all Jews, as well male as female, pay an annual poll-tax, and therefore must be registered. According to the last capitation there were 166,871 Jews in Poland, exclusive of Lithuania, who paid that tax; but this cannot be their full complement, as it is their interest to diminish their number; and it is a well-known fact, that they conceal their children as much as possible.

* Pac. Con. Aug. III. p. 128.

Perhaps the following calculations will assist us in this research. Of 2,580,796 inhabitants in Austrian Poland, 144,200, or about an eighteenth, were Jews*. The eighteenth of the present population of Poland will give near 500,000: allowing, therefore, for omissions in the capitulation, as well as for those who migrated into Poland from the Russian dismembered province †, we may fairly estimate the number of Jews at 600,000.

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Before the late partition Poland contained about 14,000,000 of inhabitants ‡. As far as I could collect from various conversations with several intelligent Poles, its present population amounts to 9,000,000.

While I am giving my principal attention to the history and constitution of Poland, I cannot but remark, that the feudal laws, formerly so universal, and of which some traces are still to be discovered in most countries, have been gradually abolished in other nations, and given place to a more regular and just administration; yet in Poland a variety of circumstances has concurred to prevent the abolition of those laws, and to preserve that mixture of liberty and oppression, order and anarchy, which so strongly characterized the feudal government. We may easily trace in this constitution all the striking features of that system. The principal are, an elective monarchy with a circumscribed power; the great officers of state possessing their charges for life, and inde-

* See Compend. Geog. Sclavoniz, Gallicia, &c. p. 66.

† Jews are not tolerated in Russia.

‡ Butching gives the following estimate of the population of Poland since the partition:

Males	4,396,969	Total number of inhabitants	9,327,668
Females	4,298,083	See Busching, His. Magazin. v. XVI. p. 28.	

Ecclesiastics	Secular	18,369	31,137
	Regular	10,189	
	Nuns	2,579	
Jews	Males	300,612	601,479
	Females	300,867	

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pendent of the king's authority; royal fiefs; the great nobility above controul; the nobles or gentry alone free and possessing lands, feudal tenures, military services, territorial jurisdiction; commerce degrading; oppressed condition of the burghers; vassalage of the peasants. In the course of this book I have had occasion to make mention of most of these evils as still existing in Poland, and they may be considered as the radical causes of its decline; for they have prevented the Poles from adopting those more stable regulations, which tend to introduce order and good government, to augment commerce, and to increase population.

T R A V E L S I N T O P O L A N D.

B O O K II.

C H A P. I.

Entrance into Austrian Poland.—Limits of the dismembered province.—Its population and productions.—Arrival at Cracow.—Description of that city.—University.—Palace.—Citadel occupied by the confederates in the late troubles.—History of that transaction.—Cathedral.—Tombs and characters of several Polish sovereigns, &c.

JULY 24, 1778. We entered Poland just beyond Bilitz, ^{CHAP. I.} having crossed the rivulet Biala, which falls into the Vistula, and pursued our journey to Cracow through the territories which the house of Austria secured to itself in the late partition.

The district claimed by the empress of Germany in her manifesto is thus described: "All that tract of land lying on the right side of the Vistula from Silesia above Sando-

BOOK II. " mir to the mouth of the San, and from thence by Franc-
 " pole, Zamoisc, and Rubieffow, to the Bog. From the Bog
 " the limits are carried along the frontiers of Red Russia to
 " Zabras upon the borders of Volhynia and Podolia; and
 " from Zabras in a straight line to the Dnieper, where it re-
 " ceives the rivulet Podhorts, taking in a small slip of Po-
 " dolia, and lastly, along the boundaries separating Podolia
 " from Moldavia."

A remarkable circumstance attended the taking possession of this district, which will shew with what uncertainty the limits were at first traced. The partition being made according to the map of Zannoni, the river Podhorts was taken as the eastern boundary of this dismembered province; but when the Austrian commissioners visited the spot, where according to Zannoni the Podhorts flowed into the Dnieper, they found no river known to the inhabitants which answered to that name. They advanced, therefore, the frontiers still more eastwards, and adopting the Sebrawce or the Sbrytz for the boundary, called it the Podhorts. This ceded country has, since the partition, changed its name; and is now incorporated into the Austrian dominions under the appellation of the kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria, which kingdoms some antient diplomes represent as situated in Poland, and subject to the kings of Hungary: the most convincing proof that there ever existed such kingdoms, that they depended upon Hungary, and ought, by virtue of an hereditary though dormant title, to revert to the empress as sovereign of Hungary, was derived from the Austrian army; for what people can resist an argument backed by 200,000 troops, unless they can defend their side of the question by an equal number?

The importance of this acquisition to the house of Austria will best appear from the number of inhabitants, which, according to the numeration made in 1776 *, amounted to 2,580,796. The mountainous parts of Galicia and Lodomeria produce fine pasture; the plains are mostly sandy, but abound in forests, and are fertile in corn. The principal articles of traffic are cattle, hides, wax, and honey. These countries contain mines of copper, lead, iron, and salt, of which the latter are the most valuable. CHAP. I.

We crossed only a narrow slip of Austrian Poland of about 86 miles in length from Bilitz to Cracow, leaving on our right hand a chain of mount Crapak, or the antient Carpathian mountains. The country we passed through was at first somewhat hilly, but afterwards chiefly plain, covered with forests. The roads were bad, the villages few and wretched beyond description; the hovels all built of wood seemed full of filth and misery, and every thing wore the appearance of extreme poverty.

July 25. About noon we arrived at the Vistula, the limits of the Austrian dominions, which reach to its southern banks. According to the partition treaty, this river was marked as forming the limits between the Austrian and Polish territories: the house of Austria at first construed the Vistula to mean the old channel of that river now dry, called the Old Vistula; and by force of this strained interpretation included Casimir in the dismembered province; but not long afterwards the empress of Germany restored Casimir to the Poles; and accepted the Vistula as it now flows, for the boundary of her dominions.

Having crossed the Vistula by a bridge, at one end of which was an Austrian soldier and at the other a Polish cen-

* Comp. Regn. Slavonia, Galicia, Lodomeria, &c. p. 66, note m.

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tinel, into Casimir, we passed the above-mentioned dry channel, termed the Old Vistula, by a second bridge, and entered Cracow.

Cracow is a curious old town: it was formerly the capital of Poland, where the kings were elected and crowned, and was once almost the center of the Polish dominions, but is now a frontier town; a proof how much the power of this republic has been contracted!

Cracow stands in an extensive plain, watered by the Vistula, which is broad but shallow: the city and its suburbs occupy a vast track of ground, but are so badly peopled, that they scarcely contain 16,000* inhabitants. The great square in the middle of the town is very spacious, and has several well-built houses, once richly furnished and well inhabited, but most of them now either untenanted, or in a state of melancholy decay. Many of the streets are broad and handsome; but almost every building bears the most striking marks of ruined grandeur: the churches alone seem to have preserved their original splendour. The devastation of this unfortunate town was begun by the Swedes at the commencement of the present century, when it was besieged and taken by Charles XII.; but the mischiefs it suffered from that ravager of the North were far less destructive than those it experienced during the late dreadful commotions, when it underwent repeated sieges, and was alternately in possession of the Russians and Confederates. The effects of cannon, grape, and musket-shot are still discernible on the walls and houses. In a word, Cracow exhibits the remains of antient magnificence, and looks like a great capital in ruins: from the number of fallen and falling houses one would imagine

* The city, exclusive of the suburbs, contained in 1778 only 8894 souls.

it had lately been sacked, and that the enemy had left it only yesterday. CHAP.
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The town is surrounded with high walls of brick, strengthened by round and square towers of whimsical shapes in the ancient style of fortification: these walls were built by Venceslaus,* king of Bohemia during the short period in which he reigned over Poland.

In Cracow there was a Russian garrison of 600 men, who were stationed at the guard-house in the center of the town: at all the gates a Russian sentinel stood on one side, and a Polish sentinel on the other. The citadel was entirely occupied by Russian troops.

I did not omit visiting the university founded and endowed by Casimir the Great, and improved and completed by Ladislaus Jaghellon. The librarian told me that the number of students amounted to 600. I went over the library, which was neither remarkable for the number or rarity of its books. Among the principal objects of attention, the librarian pointed out a Turkish book, of no intrinsic value, but esteemed a curiosity because found among the spoils at the battle of Chotzim, and presented by John Sobieski to the university, as the memorial of a victory which saved his country from desolation, and raised him to the throne of Poland. The university of Cracow was formerly, and not unjustly, called the mother of Polish literature, as it principally supplied the other seminaries with professors and men of learning; but its lustre has been greatly obscured by the removal of the royal residence to Warsaw, and still more by the late intestine convulsions.

* Cracoviam muro circumdedit. Lengnich, Hist. Pol. p. 20.

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In this city the art of printing was first introduced into Poland by Haller; and one of the earliest books was the constitutions and statutes compiled by Casimir the Great, and afterwards augmented by his successors. The characters are Gothic, the same which were universally used at the invention of printing: the great initial letters are wanting, which shews that they were probably painted and afterwards worn away. The year in which this compilation was printed is not positively known; but its publication was certainly anterior to 1496, as it does not contain the statutes passed by John Albert in that year.

The most flourishing period of the university was under Sigismund Augustus in the sixteenth century, when several of the German reformers fled from the persecutions of the emperor Charles V. and found an asylum in this city. They gave to the world several versions of the sacred writings, and other theological publications, which diffused the reformed religion over great part of Poland. The protection which Sigismund Augustus afforded to men of learning of all denominations, and the universal toleration which he extended to every sect of Christians, created a suspicion that he was secretly inclined to the new church, and it was even reported that he intended to renounce the catholic faith, and publicly profess the reformed religion *.

Towards the southern part of the town near the Vistula rises a small eminence or rock, upon whose top is built the palace, surrounded with brick walls and old towers, which form a kind of citadel to the town. This palace owes its origin to Ladislaus Jaghellon; but little of the antient structure now appears, as the greatest part was demolished

* See p. 18.

by Charles XII. in 1702, when he entered this town in triumph after the battle of Cliflow. It has been since repaired : the remains of the old palace consist of a few apartments, which are left in their ancient state as they existed in the last century. The walls of the first of these apartments are decorated with paintings of tilts and tournaments; those of the second with a representation of the coronation of a king of Poland, affirmed, by the person who shewed the palace, to be that of Ladislaus the First, and to have been drawn in his time; but the style of the painting bespeaks it of a more modern date. The cieling of the third apartment is divided into different compartments, ornamented with carved heads of extraordinary shapes and grotesque appearances. All the rooms in the palace are of fine dimensions, containing several remains of antient magnificence, but totally without furniture.

This palace was formerly the residence of the kings of Poland, who, from the time of Ladislaus Lokotec, have been crowned at Cracow. The Polish and German historians differ concerning the time when the title of king was first claimed by the sovereigns of this country; but the most probable account is, that in 1295 Premislaus assumed the regal title, and was crowned at Gnesna by the archbishop of that diocese. He was succeeded by Ladislaus Lokotec, who, offending the Poles, by his capricious and tyrannical conduct, was deposed before he was crowned; and Venceslaus king of Bohemia, who had married Richsa daughter of Premislaus, being elected in his stead, was in 1300 consecrated and crowned at Gnesna. Ladislaus, after flying from his country, and undergoing a series of calamitous adventures, was at length brought to a sense of his misconduct. Having re-

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gained the affection of his subjects, he was restored, in the life-time of Venceslaus, to part of his dominions; and he recovered them all upon the demise of that monarch in the year 1305: he governed, however, for some years without the title of king; but at length in 1320 was crowned at Cracow, to which place he transferred the ceremony of the coronation; and afterwards enacted, that for the future his successors should be inaugurated in the cathedral of this city*.

Since that period, the laws of Poland have expressly enjoined that Cracow should be the place of coronation; and such has been the superstitious attachment of the Poles to this usage, that when John Sobieski was desirous of being crowned at Leopold, on account of its vicinity to the army, which he was to command against the Turks at the time of his election, the Polish patriots strongly opposed any innovation†; and that monarch was under the necessity of repairing to Cracow for the performance of the ceremony.

Since Ladislaus, all the succeeding sovereigns have been crowned at Cracow‡, excepting the present king. Previous to his election a decree was issued by the diet of convocation, that the coronation should be solemnized for this turn at Warsaw, without prejudice in future to the ancient right of Cracow; a proviso calculated to satisfy the populace, but which will not probably prevent any future sovereign from being crowned at Warsaw, now become the capital of Poland, and the residence of its kings. The crown and other regalia used at the coronation are still kept in the palace of Cracow, under so many keys, and with such care, that it was impossible to obtain a sight of them.

* Dlugossius, lib. IX. p. 971. Lengnich, Hist. Pol. p. 19—22.

† Lengnich, Jus Publicum.

‡ I do not mention Stanislaus Letzinski,

who was crowned at Warsaw, because he was only a temporary sovereign, and was soon obliged to retire from Poland.

From the apartments of the palace we commanded an extensive view of the neighbouring country, which is principally a large sandy plain. We observed particularly two very large mounds of earth, or barrows, one of which is by tradition called the burial-place of Cracus duke of Poland, who is supposed to have built the town of Cracow in the year 700; the other is called the sepulchre of his daughter Venda, who is reported to have drowned herself in the Vistula, that she might not be compelled to marry a person for whom she had entertained an aversion. CHAP.
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The whole history of Cracus and Venda is involved in impenetrable darkness, and these barrows, which are common in different parts of Europe, were probably anterior to the Christian æra. The practice of raising barrows over the bodies of the deceased was almost universal in the earlier ages of the world. Homer mentions it as a common practice among the Greeks and Trojans; Virgil alludes to it as usual in Italy in the times treated of in the *Æneid*; Xenophon relates that it obtained among the Persians; the Roman historians record that the same mode of interring took place among their countrymen; and it appears to have prevailed no less among the antient Germans, and many other uncivilized nations. In general, popular tradition allows some favourite characters in natural history, like Cracus and Venda, to usurp the honour of being buried under the most conspicuous of these monuments.

At some distance from Cracow we noticed the fortress of Landskron situated upon a rock, which the confederates possessed during the late troubles; and from whence they made excursions as occasion offered against the Russian and Polish troops in the service of the king. By a detachment of troops from this fortress, the citadel of Cracow was taken by sur-

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prize; a gallant exploit, and which merits a particular description. The person who shewed us the palace was himself present, when the Polish troops issued from a subterraneous passage, and surprized the Russian garrison, consisting of 87 troops. About four in the morning a party of 76 confederates, all of whom were Poles, led by a lieutenant*, whose name was Bytranowski, entered the palace through a common sewer, without being discovered, and repairing to the main-guard instantly fell upon the Russians: the latter were so confounded with the suddenness of the assault, that they all yielded themselves prisoners without the least resistance, and the Poles became masters of the citadel. Two or three Russians were killed at the first onset, and the remainder were confined in a dungeon. One soldier however found means to escape by climbing the wall of the citadel, and alarmed the Russian soldiers within the town; these without delay attacked the castle, but, receiving a warm fire from the confederates, they imagined the enemy to be more numerous than they really were, and desisted from the assault. This event happened on the 2d of February, 1772. The same evening Monsieur de Choisy, in the service of the confederates of Landikron, being made acquainted with the success of the enterprize, advanced towards Cracow at the

* In most of the accounts published of this transaction, it is said that the confederates were led by a French officer, and that there were several Frenchmen amongst them. I have related simply the account which I received from the steward of the palace, who repeatedly assured me, that there was not one Frenchman amongst them; that they were led by a Polish lieutenant, whose name was Bytranowski. The steward was himself present at the transaction, and as he was no

soldier, was not confined with the garrison in the dungeon: he had, therefore, every opportunity of being informed of the truth: at the same time it is possible, that his partiality to his countrymen might have induced him to give the whole honour to the Poles. Monsieur Viosmeil is the French officer, generally mentioned as leading this enterprising band of confederates through the subterraneous passage.

head of 800 confederates (amongst whom were 30 or 40 CHAP. Frenchmen, most of them officers), and, having defeated a ^{I.} detachment of 200 Russians, was received into the citadel. But the Russian garrison in the town, which before consisted of only 400 men, being likewise reinforced, the confederates in the citadel underwent a regular siege: they defended themselves with the most undaunted spirit for the space of three months; and at length capitulated upon the most honourable terms.

I examined the subterraneous passage through which the 76 confederates introduced themselves into the palace: it is a drain which conveys all the filth from the interior part of the palace to a small opening without the walls near the Vistula. They entered this small opening, and crawled upon their hands and knees a considerable way, one behind another, until they came out through a hole in the walls of the palace; so that if the Russians had either been apprized of their attempt, or had over-heard them in their passage, not one person could have escaped: the danger was great, but it shows what spirit and perseverance will effect.

Having viewed the palace, we visited the adjoining cathedral, which stands within the walls of the citadel. In this cathedral *, all the sovereigns, from the time of Ladislaus Loketec, have been interred, a few only excepted, viz. Louis and Ladislaus III. who were kings of Hungary as well as of Poland, and whose bodies were deposited in Hungary; Alexander, who died and was buried at Vilna; Henry of Valois, interred in France; and the late monarch Augustus III. The laws of Poland are as express and minute in regulating the burial as the election and coronation of the

* Lengnich, Jus Publ.

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kings; and, as many curious circumstances attend their interment, I shall take this opportunity of laying the ceremony before the reader.

Since Warsaw has become the royal residence, and the place for the election of the kings of Poland, the body of the deceased prince must be carried first to that city, where it remains until the nomination of the new sovereign has taken place; it is then transported in great state to Cracow, and, two days before the day appointed for the ceremony of the coronation, the king elect, preceded by the great officers of state, with their rods of office pointing to the ground, joins the funeral procession as it passes through the streets, and follows the body to the church of St. Stanislaus, where the burial service is performed: the remains are then deposited in the cathedral adjoining to the palace. It is peculiar to the laws of Poland, that the funeral of the deceased monarch should immediately precede the coronation of the new sovereign; and that the king elect should be under a necessity of attending the obsequies of his predecessor. Historians have sagely remarked, that this singular custom was instituted, in order to impress the new king with the uncertainty of human grandeur; and to remind him of his duty, by mixing the horrors of death with the pomp and dignity of his new station; yet we cannot but observe, that this precaution has not hitherto been productive of any visible effects, as it does not appear that the kings of Poland have governed with greater wisdom and justice than other potentates. But it is most probable, that this custom took its rise from the habits of exterior homage, which the Poles affect to pay to their sovereign in compensation for the substantial dignity which they withhold from him: this spirit of mock-reverence they extend beyond the grave; and while they scarcely allow

allow the reigning king the shadow of real authority, heap CHAP.
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upon a deceased monarch every possible trapping of imperial honour.

The sepulchres of the kings of Poland are not distinguished by any peculiar magnificence: their figures are carved in marble of no extraordinary workmanship, and some are without inscriptions.

I felt a strong sentiment of veneration at approaching the ashes of Casimir the Great, whom I consider as one of the greatest princes that ever adorned a throne. It is not, however, the brilliancy and magnificence of his reign, his warlike achievements, nor even his patronage of the arts and sciences; but his legislative abilities, and his wonderful beneficence to the inferior class of his subjects, that inspired me with a reverence for his character.

Casimir was born in 1310; and in 1333 ascended the throne of Poland, upon the demise of his father Ladislaus Loketec. The Polish historians dwell with singular complacency upon his reign, as the most glorious and happy period of their history; and record with peculiar pleasure the virtues and abilities of this great and amiable monarch: nor are their praises the echoes of flattery, for they were mostly written subsequent to his death, when another family was seated upon the throne. In perusing the reign of Casimir, we can hardly believe that we are reading the history of the sovereign of a barbarous people in the beginning of the fourteenth century; it seems as if, by the ascendancy of his superior genius, he had got the start of the age in which he flourished, and had anticipated the knowledge and improvements of the succeeding and more enlightened periods.

From the moment of his accession his first care was to secure his kingdom against foreign enemies; with this view he

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he attacked the knights of the Teutonic order, with whom Poland had long been in an almost continual state of warfare, and obliged them to purchase a peace by the cession of Culm and Cujavia, which they had wrested from his father; he then reduced Red Russia, and annexed the duchy of Masovia to the dominions of Poland. By these acquisitions he not only extended the frontiers of his empire, but rendered his dominions less liable to sudden invasions. But these great successes were not able to excite in his breast the fatal spirit of military enterprize; he always considered war as a matter of necessity, not of choice, and as the means of safety rather than of glory*.

Having secured his frontiers, as well by his victories as by treaties with the neighbouring powers, he turned his whole attention to the interior administration of his kingdom; he built several towns, enlarged and beautified others: so that Dlugoffius †, who wrote in the following century, says of him, “Poland is indebted to Casimir for the greatest part of her churches, palaces, fortresses, and towns;” adding metaphorically, “that he found Poland of wood, and left her of marble.” He patronized letters, and founded the academy of Cracow; he promoted industry and encouraged trade: elegant in his manners and magnificent in his court, he was economical without meanness, and liberal without prodigality.

* *Mitis ingenio, et quietus quam armorum appetentior.* Florus Pol. p. 116.

† *Tantus enim illi ad magnificandum, locupletandumque Regnum Poloniæ inerat amor, ut gravissimos & notabiles sumptus, in erigendis ex muro ecclesiis, castris, civitatibus, & curiis, faciendo ad id omnem sollicitudinem curamque intenderat, ut Polo-*

niam, quam luteam, ligneam, & squalidam reperierat, lateritiam, gloriosam, & inclytam, sicut evenit, relinquerit. Nam quicquid Polonia in castris, ecclesiis, civitatibus, curiis, & domibus murorum continet, id pro majori parte ab ipso Casimiro rege, & suis regis sumptibus est perfectum. Lib. IX. p. 1164.

He was the great legislator of Poland : finding his country without any written laws, he reviewed all the usages and customs, and digested them, with some additions, into a regular code, which he ordered to be published. He simplified and improved the courts of justice; he was easy * of access to the meanest as well as the highest of his subjects, and solicitous to relieve the peasants from the oppressions of the nobility : such indeed was the tenderness he showed to that injured class of men, and so many were the privileges which he conferred upon them, that the nobles used to call him out of derision *Rex Rusticorum*, the king of the peasants; perhaps the most noble appellation that ever was bestowed upon a sovereign, and far to be preferred to the titles of magnificent and great, which have been so often lavished rather upon the persecutors than the benefactors of mankind. Human nature is never perfect; Casimir was not without his failings : voluptuous and sensual, he pushed the pleasures of the table to an excess of intemperance; and his inordinate passion for women led him into some actions, inconsistent with the general tenor of honour and integrity which distinguishes his character. But these defects influenced chiefly his private, and not his public deportment; or, to use the expression of a Polish historian, his private failings were redeemed by his public virtues † : and it is allowed by all, that no sovereign ever more consulted the happiness of his subjects, or was more beloved at home or respected abroad. After a long reign of 40 years he was thrown from his horse as he was hunting, and died after a short illness in the 60th year of his age, carrying

* Adeuntibus fucilis, querimonias etiam infimorum audivit, &c. Sarniski. Cuilibet conditioni, generi, atque ætati facilis ad

eum patebat accessus. Dlugossius.

† Redimeas vitia virtutibus. Dlugossius.

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with him to the grave the regret of his subjects, and a claim to the veneration of posterity. He is described (for the figure of so amiable a character cannot fail to be interesting) as tall in his person, and inclined to corpulency, with a majestic aspect, thick and curling hair, long beard, with a strong voice somewhat lisping*.

Next to the remains of Casimir repose the ashes of Ladislaus † II. known by the appellation of Jaghellon, the father of a race of kings called from him the Jaghellon line. This sovereign was originally duke of Lithuania, and, together with his subjects, a worshiper of idols; but having embraced Christianity, and espoused Hedwige second daughter of Louis, he obtained the throne of Poland. This event happened in 1386, in which year he was publicly baptized, married, and crowned at Cracow, and assumed a new baptismal name of Ladislaus*II.; he died in 1434 in a very advanced age, in the 50th year of a long and glorious reign.

Among his posterity, whose bodies are deposited in this cathedral, the most memorable is Sigismund I. a great and able monarch, the protector of the arts and sciences, which made no inconsiderable figure under his auspices. He is represented, however, as not sufficiently watchful over the royal prerogative ‡; and as yielding too easily to the encroach-

* Vir staturâ elevatâ, corpore crasso, fronte venerabili, crine circino et abundante, barbâ promiscâ, voce aliquantulum balbâ sed sonorâ.

Decessit Casimirus a. 1370, says Lengnich, cui Polonia leges, judicia, cultum, plurimas civitates, arces, et alia edificia debet. Hist. Pol. p. 25.

† He is sometimes called Ladislaus IV. and sometimes Ladislaus V.; but reckoning from the time the sovereigns of Poland as-

sumed the regal authority, he ought to be called Ladislaus II. Ladislaus Inter Poloniæ reges illius nominis secundus. Lengnich, Hist. Pol. p. 31.

‡ Ab hoc potissimum rege nimis indulgente, licentia nobilitatis incrementa contra jura majestatis, cum injuria succedentium regum, et reipub. decremento, sumere et prævalere cœpit, ut sapientes, &c. De Script. Pol. &c. p. 4.

ments of the nobility to the injury of succeeding monarchs, and the detriment of the republic. But these compliances admit of great palliation, when we reflect, that the nobles, to whom they were made, had raised him to the throne, and were become nearly uncontrollable by the concessions of his immediate predecessors.

As I viewed the tomb of Sigismund Augustus, son of the last mentioned monarch, I recollected, not without a mixture of regret and sympathy for this unhappy country, that in him terminated that hereditary influence, which had given tranquillity during a long succession of sovereigns to the diets of election; and that upon his death all those troubles and confusions, which are inseparable from a crown wholly elective, broke in upon the kingdom. From this period the cabals and convulsions, continually recurring at every appointment of a new sovereign, rapidly impaired the strength of the state and the dignity of the sovereign. The Poles gradually lost their consequence among foreign powers; and the authority of succeeding kings depended more on their own personal abilities, and accidental circumstances, than on any permanent principle of vigour inherent in the crown, which has been nearly stripped of all its prerogatives.

The first of the new succession, whose remains are interred in this church, is Stephen Bathori prince of Transylvania, elected in 1576, upon the abdication of Henry of Valois: he owed his elevation to his marriage with Anne daughter of Sigismund I.; a princess who, being in the 52d year of her age, was not endowed with any winning attractions, if she had not brought a kingdom for her portion. The epitaph upon his tomb justly ascribes to Stephen a long catalogue of civil and military virtues.

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I came next to the sepulchre of his successor Sigismund III. son of John III. king of Sweden, and of Catherine daughter of Sigismund I. : elected king of Poland in 1587, he revived in his person, on the female side, the race of the Jaghellon family. He was raised to the throne of this country while he was prince royal of Sweden ; and, upon the death of his father in 1592, possessed both crowns ; but he gradually lost all authority in Sweden, and was at length formally deposed by the states of that kingdom. He owed his expulsion from Sweden to his partiality for Poland, to his bigoted zeal for the catholic religion, and above all to the superior genius of his uncle and rival Charles IX. He expired in the 46th year of his reign, and in the 67th of his age.

Near the body of Sigismund lie those of his two sons ; the eldest named Ladislaus IV. elected king of Poland upon the demise of his father, supported the dignity of his crown with reputation and honour ; the second, John Casimir, was a prince, whose character and adventures are too singular to be passed over without particular notice.

John Casimir, son of Sigismund III. by a second wife Anne, sister of the emperor Ferdinand II. was educated in his father's court, upon whose death his mother endeavoured, but without effect, to procure his election to the throne, in opposition to his elder brother Ladislaus IV. Repulsed from the throne, he contracted a disgust to Poland, and undertook a journey to Spain with a view of offering his services to his cousin Philip IV. then at war with France. Passing through Austria and Trent into Italy, at Genoa he embarked in a vessel bound to Spain ; but, prompted by curiosity, he ventured

tured to land incognito at Marfeilles : being discovered, he was arrested by order of the court of France, and, on account of his connection with the house of Austria, closely imprisoned for the space of two years *. Being at length released at the intercession of his brother the king of Poland, he repaired to Rome, and there, either out of devotion or caprice, entered into the order of the Jesuits. Afterwards, grown weary of his function, he quitted that order, and was promoted to the rank of cardinal. Upon the death of his brother Ladislaus IV. being absolved from his vows by the pope, he was elected king of Poland ; and, having obtained a dispensation, married his brother's widow Louisa Maria daughter of the duke of Nevers, a woman of great beauty and still greater spirit, who blended devotion with a strong propensity to political intrigues : the soul of her husband's councils, she may be said to have reigned over Poland, while he was only nominal king. Such was her ascendancy, that she prevailed upon him to solicit the nomination of the duke of Enguien son of the great Condé for his successor ; a measure so contradictory to the first principles of the Polish constitution, as well as to his coronation oath, excited a general discontent, and threw the kingdom into the most violent commotions.

The reign of John Casimir was active and turbulent, memorable for the revolt of the Cossacs of the Ukraine, for the unsuccessful wars with Sweden, and for the insurrections of the nobility. Though, so far from being deficient in military courage, that in every desperate emergency he always commanded his troops in person ; though, to use his own expression, " he was the first to attack, and the last to re-

* Florus Polon. p. 437, & seq.

BOOK II. "treat *," yet as he preferred peace to war, and wanted the enterprising spirit of his brother Ladislaus IV. he was accused by the Poles of indolence and pusillanimity. His political sagacity appears from his predictions, that Poland, enfeebled by the anarchy of its government, and the licentiousness of the nobles, would necessarily be dismembered by the neighbouring powers. Worn out at length with the cares of royalty, shocked at the distressed state of the kingdom, discontented with the factions of the nobility, afflicted at the death of his wife, and impelled by the versatility of his disposition, he abdicated the throne in the 20th year of his reign, and in the 68th of his age. This extraordinary event happened on the 27th of August, in the year 1668, before a general diet assembled at Warsaw: the scene was affecting; the conduct of the king manly and resolute; and his speech upon that event is the finest piece of pathetic eloquence that history has ever recorded †.

Soon after his abdication he retired into France, and again embraced the ecclesiastical profession. Louis XIV. who prided himself in affording an asylum to abdicated sovereigns, gave him the abbeys of St. Germain and St. Martin, without which he would have had no means of subsistence, as Poland soon withheld his pension; a proof that the tears which were shed at his abdication were not sincere. Notwithstanding his ecclesiastical engagements, John Casimir could not withstand the attractions of Marie Mignot, a woman, who, from being a laundress, had been married first to a counsellor of Grenoble, and afterwards to the marshal de L'Hospital. She was a widow when she attracted the notice of the abdicated king, and so powerful was the impression he

* "Eum me esse, qui primus in præliis, lufki, Ep. v. I. p. 57.
"postrems in discrimine et recessu." Za- † See Zalufki, Epist. v. I. p. 57

received, that it was suspected he was secretly married to her. CHAP.
I.
 Casimir is represented, by those who knew him in his retirement, as easy and familiar in his conversation, and displeased with receiving any honours or titles due to his former rank *. He survived his abdication only four years, and died at Nevers on the 16th of December, 1672. His body was brought to this city, and buried in the cathedral at the same time with that of his successor Michael, the day before the coronation of John Sobieski.

Upon approaching the remains of John Sobieski, I recollected that when Charles XII. of Sweden entered Cracow he visited these tombs, in order to pay a mark of respect to the memory of that great monarch : he is reported, as he hung with reverence over his sepulchre, to have cried out, " What " a pity that so great a man should ever die ! " May we not also exclaim, what a pity that a person, so impressed with a sense of Sobieski's virtues, should adopt only the military part of his character for the object of his imitation ! How infinitely inferior is the Swedish to the Polish sovereign ! The former, dead to all the finer feelings of humanity, was awake only to the calls of ambition ; every other sentiment being lost in the ardour for military honours. If personal courage be sufficient to constitute an hero, he possessed that quality in a superior degree ; but it was rather the bravery of a common foldier than of a general. Sobieski, even upon that ground, has an equal title to fame ; for his valour was no less distinguished, and was superior in this respect, that it was not clouded with rashness, but tempered with prudence. Though the first general of his age, he placed not his sole ambition in military glory ; he was great in peace as well as

* Vie de Sobieski I. p. 153.

BOOK II. in war; by the union of talents belonging to each department, he defended his country from impending danger, raised her from her falling state, and delayed during his reign the æra of her decline; while Charles, who was deficient in civil virtues, plunged Sweden, which he found highly prosperous, into ruin and desolation: in a word, Charles had the qualities of a knight errant, and Sobieski the virtues of an hero*.

About an English mile from Cracow are the remains of an old structure, called the palace of Casimir the Great, which my veneration for that sovereign induced me to visit, as there is a singular pleasure arising from seeing the spot that was once dignified by the residence of a favourite character. Little, I imagine, of the original palace, as it was built by Casimir, exists at present. In the inner court are the remains of a corridore with pillars of the Doric order; and upon one of the side walls I observed the white-eagle of Poland carved in stone, and around it an inscription seemingly in old Gothic characters, of which I could only make out Ann. Dom. M.CCCLXVII, which answers to the æra of Casimir, who died in 1370. Several marble columns were scattered around, which showed the antient magnificence of the building. The greatest part of the fabric was evidently of later date than the reign of Casimir, and was probably constructed by succeeding sovereigns upon the foundation of the antient palace; perhaps by Stephen Bathori, as I could trace in one place an inscription, *Stephanus Dei gratia*; and also by Sigismund III. as I plainly discovered his cypher with the wheat-sheaf, the arms of Gustavus Vasa, from whom he was lineally descended.

* See an account of Sobieski's death and family, Chap. IV. of this book.

This palace was the principal residence of Casimir: in the garden is a mound of earth, or one of those barrows before mentioned, which is called the tomb of Esther the fair Jewess, who was the favourite mistress of that monarch. To the influence of Esther it is said the Jews owe the numerous privileges enjoyed by them in Poland, which is called the paradise of the Jews. But when I consider the character of Casimir, I conceive that they were indebted for their favourable reception in Poland more to his policy than to his affection for his mistress; for in those times the Jews were the richest and most commercial individuals in Europe; by allowing them therefore to settle in Poland, and by granting them some extraordinary immunities, he introduced trade and much wealth into his dominions. The number of Jews is now prodigious*, and they have in a manner engrossed all the commerce of the country; yet this flourishing state of affairs must not be attributed solely to the edicts of Casimir in their favour, but to the industry of those extraordinary people, to the indolence of the gentry, and oppressed condition of the peasants.

CHAP.
I.

* See p. 137.

C H A P. II.

Mode of saluting and dress of the Poles.—Account of the salt-mines of Wielitska.—Their extent and profit.—Journey to Warsaw.

BOOK
II.

THE Poles seem a lively people, and use much action in their ordinary conversation. Their common mode of salute is to incline their heads, and to strike their breast with one of their hands, while they stretch the other towards the ground; but when a common person meets a superior, he bows his head almost to the earth, waving at the same time his hand, with which he touches the bottom of the leg near the heel of the person to whom he pays his obeisance. The men of all ranks generally wear whiskers, and shave their heads, leaving only a circle of hair upon the crown. The summer dress of the peasants consists of nothing but a shirt and drawers of coarse linen, without shoes or stockings, with round caps or hats. The women of the lower class wear upon their heads a wrapper of white linen, under which their hair is braided, and hangs down in two plaits. I observed several of them with a long piece of white linen hanging round the side of their faces, and covering their bodies below their knees: this singular kind of veil makes them look as if they were doing penance.

The dress of the higher orders, both men and women, is uncommonly elegant. That of the gentlemen is a waistcoat with sleeves, over which they wear an upper robe



Scizel sculptavit

A POLISH GENTLEMAN.

Published according to Act of Parliament. Jan'y. 1784. by T. Cadell in the Strand.

of a different colour, which reaches down below the knee, and is fastened round the waist with a sash or girdle; the sleeves of this upper garment are in warm weather tied behind the shoulders; a sabre is a necessary part of their dress as a mark of nobility. In summer, the robe, &c. is of silk; in winter, of cloth, velvet, or stuff, edged with fur. They wear fur-caps or bonnets, and buskins of yellow leather, the heels of which are plaited with iron or steel. The dress of the ladies is a simple polonaise, or long robe, edged with fur.

CHAP.
II.

The Poles, in their features, look, customs, dress, and general appearance, resemble Asiatics rather than Europeans; and they are unquestionably descended from Tartar ancestors. A German historian*, well versed in the antiquity of nations, remarks, that the manner in which the Poles wear their hair is, perhaps, one of the most ancient tokens of their origin. So early as the fifth century some nations, who were comprehended under the name of Scythians, had the same custom. For Priscus Rhætor, who accompanied Maximus in his embassy from Theodosius II. to the court of Attila, describes a Scythian lord, whose head was shaved in a circular form†, a mode perfectly analogous to the present fashion in Poland.

Before we quitted this part of Poland, we visited the celebrated salt-mines of Wielitka, which are situated within eight miles of Cracow. These mines are excavated in a ridge of hills at the Northern extremity of the chain which joins to the Carpathian mountains: they take their appellation from the small village of Wielitka; but are sometimes called in foreign countries the mines of Cracow, from their vicinity to that city.

* Masłow.

† Capite in rotundum rasō.

BOOK

II.

Upon our arrival at Wielitska we repaired to the mouth of the mine*. Having fastened three separate hammocks in a circle round the great rope that is employed in drawing up the salt, we seated ourselves in a commodious manner, and were let down gently without the least apprehension of danger, about 160 yards below the first layer of salt. Quitting our hammocks, we passed a long and gradual descent, sometimes through broad passages or galleries capable of admitting several carriages abreast; sometimes down steps cut in the solid salt, which had the grandeur and commodiousness of the stair-case in a palace. We each of us carried a light, and several guides preceded us with lamps in their hands: the reflection of these lights upon the glittering sides of the mine was extremely beautiful, but did not cast that luminous splendour, which some writers have compared to the lustre of precious stones.

The salt dug from this mine is called *Ziebna* or Green Salt, for what reason I cannot determine; for its colour is an iron grey; when pounded it has a dirty ash colour like what we call brown salt. The quality of the salt improves in proportion to the depth of the mine: towards the sides and surface it is mixed with earthy or stony particles; lower down it is said to be perfectly pure, and requires no other process before it is used than to be pounded. The finest of this grey salt, however, is of a weak quality when compared with our common sea-salt: it is therefore undoubtedly by no means perfectly pure, but is blended with extraneous mixtures, though it serves very well for common purposes. Being almost as hard as stone, the miners hew it with pick-axes and hatchets, by a tedious operation, into

* There are two other openings, down one of which the miners descend by stairs, down the other by ladders.

large blocks, many of which weigh six or seven hundred pounds. These large masses are raised by a windlass, but the smaller pieces are carried up by horses along a winding gallery, which reaches to the surface of the earth. CHAP.
II.

Beside grey salt, the miners sometimes discover small cubes of white salt, as transparent as crystal, but not in any considerable quantity; they find likewise occasionally pieces of coal and petrified wood buried in the salt.

The mine appears to be inexhaustible, as will easily be conceived from the following account of its dimensions. Its known breadth is 1115 feet; its length 6691 feet; and depth 743; and the best judges on the spot suppose, with the greatest appearance of probability, this solid body of salt to branch into various directions, the extent of which cannot be known: of that part which has been perforated, the depth is only calculated as far as they have hitherto dug; and who can ascertain how much farther it may descend?

Our guide did not omit pointing out to us, what he considered as one of the most remarkable curiosities of the place, several small chapels excavated in the salt, in which mass is laid on certain days of the year; one of these chapels is above 30 feet long and 25 broad; the altar, the crucifix, the ornaments of the church, the statues of several saints, are all carved out of the salt.

Many of the excavations or chambers, from whence the salt has been dug, are of an immense size; some are supported with timber, others by vast pillars of salt, which are left standing for that purpose: several of vast dimensions are without any support in the middle. I remarked one of this latter sort in particular, which was certainly 80 feet in height, and so extremely long and broad, as almost to appear amid
the

BOOK II. the subterraneous gloom without limits. The roofs of these vaults are not arched, but flat. The immense size of these chambers, with the spacious passages or galleries, together with the chapels above-mentioned, and a few sheds built for the horses which are foddered below; probably gave rise to the exaggerated accounts of some travellers, that these mines contain several villages inhabited by colonies of miners, who never see the light. It is certain that there is room sufficient for such purposes; but the fact is, that the miners have no dwellings under ground, none of them remaining below more than eight hours at a time, when they are relieved by others from above. In truth, these mines are of a most stupendous extent and depth, and are sufficiently wonderful without the least exaggeration. We found them as dry as a room, without the least damp or moisture; observing only in our whole progress one small spring of water, which is impregnated with salt, as it runs through the mine.

Such an enormous mass of salt exhibits a wonderful phenomenon in the natural history of this globe. Monsieur Guetard, who visited these mines with great attention, and who has published a treatise upon the subject, informs us, that the uppermost bed of earth at the surface immediately over the mines is sand, the second clay occasionally mixed with sand and gravel and containing petrefactions of marine bodies, the third calcarious stone. From all these circumstances he conjectures that this spot was formerly covered by the sea, and that the salt is a gradual deposit formed by the evaporation of its waters *.

* See Memoire sur les Mines de Sel de Wielitka in Hist. de l'Acad. des Sciences for 1702.

These

These mines have now been worked above 600 years, for CHAP.
II. they are mentioned in the Polish annals so early as 1237, under Boleslaus * the Chaste, and not as a new discovery : how much earlier they were known cannot now be ascertained. Their profits had long been appropriated to the king's privy purse : before the partition they furnished a considerable part of his present majesty's revenue, who drew from them an annual average profit of about 3,500,000 Polish florins, or 97,222*£*. 4*s*. 6*d*. sterling. They now belong to the emperor, being situated within the province which he dismembered from Poland ; but at the time we visited them they were far from yielding a revenue equal to that which they had afforded to the king of Poland ; for the Austrian commissioners imprudently raised the price of salt, from an idea that Poland could not exist without drawing that commodity as usual from Wielitska, and would therefore be obliged to receive it at any price. This mode of proceeding offending the Poles, the king of Prussia, with his usual sagacity, did not neglect this opportunity of extending his commerce ; he immediately imported large quantities of salt, which he procured chiefly from Spain, to Dantzic, Memmel, and Koningsburg, from whence it was conveyed up the Vistula into the interior provinces : by these means he furnished great part of Poland with salt, at a cheaper rate than the inhabitants could procure it from the house of Austria ; and in 1778 the mines of Wielitska only supplied the districts which immediately border upon Austrian Poland.

* Lengnich, Jus Pub. vol. I. p. 249.

BOOK
II.

I never saw a road so barren of interesting scenes as that from Cracow to Warsaw; there is not a single object throughout the whole tract, which can for a moment draw the attention of the most inquisitive traveller.

The country, for the most part of the way, was level, with little variation of surface: it was chiefly overspread with vast tracts of thick gloomy forest; and even where the country was more open, the distant horizon was always skirted with wood. The trees were mostly pines and firs, intermixed with beech, birch, and small oaks. The occasional breaks in the forest presented some pasture ground, with here and there a few meagre crops of corn.

Without having actually traversed it, I could hardly have conceived so comfortless a region: a forlorn stillness and solitude prevailed almost through the whole extent, with few symptoms of an inhabited, and still less of a civilized country. Though in the high road, which unites Cracow and Warsaw, in the course of about 258 English miles, we met in our progress only two carriages and about a dozen carts. The country was equally thin of human habitations: a few straggling villages, all built of wood, succeeded one another at long intervals, whose miserable appearance corresponded to the wretchedness of the country around them. In these assemblages of huts, the only places of reception for travellers were hovels, belonging to Jews, totally destitute of furniture and every species of accommodation. We could seldom procure any other room but that in which the family lived; in the article of provision eggs and milk were our greatest luxuries, and could not always be obtained; our only bed was straw thrown upon the ground, and we thought ourselves happy when we could procure it clean. Even we,

I

who

who were by no means delicate, and who had long been accustomed to put up with all inconveniencies, found ourselves distressed in this land of desolation. Though in most countries we made a point of suspending our journey during night, in order that no scene might escape our observation ; yet we here even preferred continuing our route without intermission to the penance we endured in these receptacles of filth and penury : and we have reason to believe that the darkness of the night deprived us of nothing but the sight of gloomy forests, indifferent crops of corn, and objects of human misery. CHAP.
II.

The natives were poorer, humbler, and more miserable than any people we had yet observed in the course of our travels : wherever we stopped, they flocked around us in crouds ; and, asking for charity, used the most abject gestures.

The road bore as few marks of human industry as the country which it intersects. It was best where it was sandy ; in other parts it was scarcely passable ; and in the marshy grounds, where some labour was absolutely necessary to make it support the carriages, it was raised with sticks and boughs of trees thrown promiscuously upon the surface, or formed by trunks of trees laid crossways.

After a tedious journey we at length approached Warsaw ; but the roads being neither more passable, nor the country better cultivated, and the suburbs chiefly consisting of the same wooden hovels which compose the villages, we had no suspicion of being near the capital of Poland until we arrived at its gates.

TRAVELS INTO POLAND.

C H A P. III.

Arrival at Warsaw, — Description of the city. — Journal of occurrences. — Presentation to the king of Poland. — Palace. — Portraits of the kings of Poland. — Literary society. — Entertainment at the king's villa. — Supper in prince Poniatowski's garden. — Description of a fête champêtre given at Povenski by the prince's Zartonska, &c. &c.

BOOK II.

THE situation of Warsaw is not unpleasant : it is built partly in a plain, and partly upon a gentle ascent rising from the banks of the Vistula, which is about as broad as the Thames at Westminster-Bridge, but very shallow in summer. The city and its suburbs occupy a vast extent of ground ; and are supposed to contain between sixty and seventy thousand inhabitants, among whom are a prodigious number of foreigners. The whole town has a melancholy appearance, exhibiting that strong contrast of wealth and poverty, luxury and distress, which pervades every part of this unhappy country. The streets are spacious, but ill-paved ; the churches and public buildings are large and magnificent ; the palaces of the nobility are numerous and splendid ; but the greatest part of the houses, particularly in the suburbs, are mean and ill-constructed wooden hovels.

August 2. The English minister being absent in the country, we carried our letters of recommendation to Count Rzewuski great-marshal of the crown, who received us with much civility, and appointed Sunday morning to present us



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to the king at his levee. At the hour appointed we repaired to court, and were admitted into the audience-chamber, where the principal officers of the crown were waiting for his majesty's appearance. In this chamber I observed four busts, placed by order of his present majesty; namely, those of Elizabeth queen of England; Henry IV. of France; John Sobieski; and the present empress of Russia.

At length the king made his appearance; and we were presented. His majesty talked to each of us a considerable time in the most obliging manner; he said many handsome things of the English nation, mentioned his residence in London with great appearance of satisfaction, and concluded by inviting us to supper in the evening, of which honour we had before had previous intimation from the great marshal. The king of Poland is handsome in his person, with an expressive countenance, a dark complexion, Roman nose, and penetrating eye: he is uncommonly pleasing in his address and manner, and possesses great sweetness of condescension, tempered with dignity. He had on a full dressed suit; which circumstance I mention because he is the first king of this country who has not worn the national habit, or who has not shaved his head after the Polish custom. His example has of course had many imitators: and I was much surprized to see so few of the chief nobility in the national garb. The natives in general are so attached to this dress, that in the diet of convocation which assembled previous to the election of his present majesty, it was proposed to insert in the *Pacta Conventa* an article, whereby the king should be obliged to wear the Polish garment: but this motion was over-ruled; and he was left at liberty to consult his own taste. At his coronation he laid aside the antient regal habit

BOOK
II. of ceremony, and appeared in robes of a more modern fashion, with his hair flowing upon his shoulders.

The levee being ended, we went over the palace, which was built by Sigismund III. and which since his time has been the principal residence of the Polish monarchs. Warsaw is far more commodious for the capital than Cracow, because it is situated nearer to the center of the kingdom, and because the diet is assembled in this city. The palace stands upon a rising ground at a small distance from the Vistula, and commands a fine view of that river and of the adjacent country. Next to the audience-chamber is an apartment fitted up with marble, which his majesty has dedicated, by the following inscription, to the memory of his predecessors the kings of Poland: *Regum Memorix dicavit Stanislaus Augustus hocce monumentum, 1771.* The portraits of the sovereigns are ranged in chronological order: the series begins from Boleslaus, and is carried down to his present majesty, whose picture is not yet finished. These heads are all painted by Bacciarelli, and well executed: the portraits of the earlier kings are sketched from the painter's imagination; but that of Ladislaus II. and most of his successors are copied from real originals. They altogether produce a pleasing effect, and may be considered as an agreeable species of genealogical table.

In this apartment the king gives a dinner every Thursday to the men of letters, who are most conspicuous for their learning and abilities: his majesty himself presides at table, and takes the lead in the graces of conversation as much as in rank; and, though a sovereign, does not think it beneath him to be a most entertaining companion. The persons who are admitted to this society read occasionally treatises upon

different topics of history, natural philosophy, and other miscellaneous subjects : and as a code of laws was at that time compiling in order to be presented to the next diet, parts of that code, or observations relating to legislation in general, and the constitution of Poland in particular, were introduced and perused. The king studiously encourages all attempts to refine and polish his native tongue, which has been much neglected during the reigns of his two predecessors, who were totally ignorant of the Polish language. He is fond of poetry ; accordingly that species of composition is much cultivated at these meetings. The next apartment was hung with the portraits of the principal members of the society.

In obedience to the king's condescending invitation, we sat off about eight in the evening, and drove to one of the royal villas, situated in the midst of a delightful wood about three miles from Warsaw. The villa is small, consisting of a saloon, and four other apartments upon the first floor, together with a bath, from which it takes its name of *la Maison de Bain* : above stairs are the same number of rooms ; each of them fitted up in the most elegant manner. The king received us in the saloon with wonderful affability : his brother and two of his nephews were present, and a few of the nobility of both sexes, who generally compose his private parties. There were two tables for whist, and those who were not engaged at cards walked about, or stood at different sides of the room, while the king, who seldom plays, conversed occasionally with every one. At about half an hour after nine, supper being announced, we followed the king into an adjoining apartment, where was a small round table with eight covers : the supper consisted of one course and a desert. His majesty sat down, but eat nothing ;

BOOK
 11. nothing; he talked a great deal without wholly engrossing the conversation. After supper we repaired to the saloon, part of the company returned to their cards, while we, out of respect to the king, continued standing, until his majesty was pleased to propose sitting down, adding "we shall be more at our ease chatting round a table." We accordingly seated ourselves, and the conversation lasted without interruption, and with perfect ease, till midnight, when the king retired. Before he withdrew he gave a general order to a nobleman of the party, that we should be conducted to see every object in Warsaw worthy of a stranger's curiosity. This extraordinary degree of attention penetrated us with gratitude, and proved a prelude to still greater honours.

August 5. We had the honour of dining with his majesty at the same villa, and experienced the same ease and affability of reception as before. His majesty had hitherto talked French, but he now did me the honour to converse with me in English, which he speaks remarkably well. He expressed a great predilection for our nation: he surprized me by his extraordinary knowledge of our constitution, laws, and history, which was so circumstantial and exact, that he could not have acquired it without infinite application: all his remarks were pertinent, just, and rational. He is familiarly acquainted with our best authors, and his enthusiastic admiration of Shakespeare gave me the most convincing proofs of his intimate acquaintance with our language, and his taste for the beauties of genuine poetry. He inquired much about the state of arts and sciences in England, and spoke with raptures upon the protection and encouragement which our sovereign gives to the liberal arts, and to every species of literature. After we had taken our leave, we drove round the wood to several other villas, in which

which the king occasionally resides. They are all constructed in different styles with great taste and elegance. His majesty is very fond of architecture, and draws himself all the plans for the buildings, and even the designs for the interior decorations of the several apartments.

CHAP.
III.

In the evening we had the pleasure of meeting his majesty at his brother's, prince Poniatowski, who gave us a most elegant entertainment at a garden which is situated near his villa, and is richly ornamented with buildings. The taste of the Polish nobility is not to be controuled by want of any materials; for if they cannot procure them from nature, they make a representation of them by art. In the present instance, as there are no quarries of stone near Warsaw, the prince has substituted a composition so nearly resembling stone, that the most minute observer can scarce discover the difference. We arrived at the garden about nine; it was a beautiful evening of one of the most sultry days we had experienced this summer. After walking about the grounds, we came to a grotto of artificial rock, where a spring of water dripped through the sides, and fell into a basin with a pleasing murmur. We were scarcely assembled in this delightful spot, when the king made his appearance: we rose up to meet him; the usual compliments being passed, we attended his majesty about the grounds, and then returned to the grotto, round which we ranged ourselves upon a bank covered with moss. The moon was now risen, and added greatly to the beauty of the scene. I happened to be seated next to the king (for all form and ceremony was banished), who talked with me as usual, in English, on the arts and sciences, literature, and history. In the course of this conversation I ventured to ask whether there was any good poetry in the Polish language. His majesty told me, "We have some
lighter

BOOK lighter pieces of poetry, by no means contemptible, and an
 II. — indifferent epic poem; but the work of chief poetical excellence in our tongue is a fine translation of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* of Tasso, far superior to any translations of that admirable poem in other languages; some Italians of taste and judgement have esteemed it not much inferior to the original performance." I then took the liberty of inquiring about the historical productions of Poland; when the king informed me, that they had no good history of their country in Polish, which he looked upon as a national reflection, though he flattered himself it would soon be removed, as a person of genius and erudition, admirably calculated for the undertaking, was now employed in that work. Upon expressing my surprize at a circumstance almost peculiar to Poland, that they had no history in their native tongue, his majesty condescended to acquaint me, that they had several excellent historians, all of whom however had written in Latin; "the knowledge of this language," his majesty remarked, "is very general among the Poles* ; the earliest laws are all drawn up in Latin until the reign of Sigismond Augustus, when they began to be composed in the vernacular language; the older *Paëta Conventa* are all in Latin; those of Ladislaus IV. being the first that appeared in Polish." This conversation, in which I was at a loss whether to admire most the knowledge or condescension of the king, was interrupted by the prince, who proposed a turn in the garden before supper: his highness led the way, and the company followed; we passed through a subterraneous passage, long and winding, with here and there a single lamp,

* I had several opportunities of remarking the prevalence of the Latin tongue in Poland; when I visited the prisons, I conversed in that language with a common soldier, who stood guard at the entrance: he spoke it with great fluency.

which

which shed a glimmering light; we came at length to a wooden door, which seemed the entrance into some hovel; it opened, and we found ourselves, to our great astonishment, in a superb saloon, illuminated with innumerable lamps. It was a rotunda, with an elegant dome of the most beautiful symmetry; in the circumference were four open recesses between pillars of artificial marble*: in the recesses were sofas, with paintings *in fresco*, representing the triumphs of Bacchus, Silenus, Love, and the victory of the Empress of Russia over the Turks. As we were all admiring the beauty and elegance of the rotunda, our ears were on a sudden regaled with a concert of exquisite music from an invisible band. While we were listening to this agreeable performance, and conjecturing from what quarter it came, a magnificent table was suddenly spread in the midst of the saloon with such expedition, as to resemble the effects of enchantment. We immediately sat down to supper with the king, the prince, and a chosen company: our spirits were elevated by the beauty of the saloon, by the hospitality of the prince, and by the affability of the king; who, so far from being a constraint to the society, greatly enlivened it by his vivacity, and seemed the soul of the party. I never passed a more agreeable evening; the conversation was animated and rational, while the social ease and freedom, which diffused itself through every part of the company, realized this beautiful convivial picture:

La Liberté convive aimable

Met les deux coudes sur la table †.

Even without the lustre of a crown, which is apt to dazzle our judgements, the king of Poland could not fail of being

* These pillars are of the same composition and colour with those of the Pantheon in Oxford Street.
† Voltaire.

BOOK
II. esteemed one of the most agreeable and polite gentlemen in Europe : he has a surprizing fund of interesting conversation ; and I never yet had the honour of access to his company without being both informed and delighted. His majesty did not retire until one o'clock, when the company separated, and we returned to Warsaw, highly pleased with our evening's entertainment.

I have had frequent occasion to mention the elegance and luxury of the Polish nobility in their houses and villas ; in their decorations and furniture they seem to have happily blended the English and French modes ; in their entertainments they are exquisitely refined ; and as they spare no expence, and have a natural good taste, they generally succeed in creating pleasure and surprize. We every day experienced the agreeable effects of their hospitality and politeness ; but by none were we so elegantly regaled as by the princess Zartoriska in a *fête champêtre*, of which I shall attempt a description.

Povonski, the villa of prince Adam Zartoriski, is about three miles from Warsaw in the midst of a forest : the situation is almost level, with here and there a gentle slope, which produces an agreeable variety. A river runs through the grounds, which are laid out in the English taste, with a beautiful intermixture of lawn and wood ; walks are cut through the wood, and carried along the side of the water.

The house, which stands upon a gentle rise, has the appearance of a cottage, constructed like those of the peasants, with trunks of trees piled upon each other, and thatched with straw : beside the principal building, inhabited by the prince and princess, there are separate cottages for the children and attendants, each of which has its inclosures and small garden ; this group of structures bears the resemblance

of a village, composed of huts scattered at a small distance from each other. Other buildings, such as summer houses, pavilions, rustic sheds, and ruins, are dispersed throughout the grounds; the stables are constructed in the form of an half demolished amphitheatre. Several romantic bridges, rudely composed of the trunks and bent branches of trees, contribute to heighten the rusticity of the scenery.

Upon our arrival we repaired to the principal cottage, where the princess was ready to receive us: we expected the inside to be furnished in the simple style of a peasant's hovel, but were surprized to find every species of elegant magnificence which riches and taste could collect. All the apartments are decorated in the most costly manner; but the splendour of the bath-room was peculiarly striking: the sides are covered from top to bottom, with small square pieces of the finest Dresden china, each ornamented with an elegant sprig; and the border and cieling are painted with beautiful festoons. The expence of fitting up this apartment must have been prodigious; as I was informed that there were at least three thousand square pieces of china employed, each of which cost at Dresden three ducats*. After we had surveyed all the apartments, we proceeded to an enclosure near the house, surrounded with large blocks of granite heaped one upon another, and fallen trees placed in the most natural and picturesque shapes; here we drank tea upon the lawn. From thence we repaired to the several cottages inhabited by the children; each of which is fitted up in different styles, but with equal elegance. Every thing without doors gives one the idea of an happy peasant's family; within all is costliness and taste: I never saw such a contrast of simplicity and magnificence.

* About 11. 7s. 6d.

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We next walked round the grounds, which are prettily laid out in our taste of gardening; the company then all adjourned to a Turkish tent of rich and curious workmanship, pitched in a beautiful retired field near the stables, which represent a ruined amphitheatre. This tent belonged to the grand-vizier, and was taken during the late war between the Russians and the Turks: under it was a settee, and a carpet spread upon the ground. Here we staid conversing until it was quite dusk; when the princess proposed returning; she led us through the house to a small spot of rising ground, where we were suddenly struck with a most beautiful illumination. A rustic bridge, consisting of a single arch over a broad piece of water, was studded with several thousand lamps of different colours; while the reflection of this illuminated bridge in the water was so strong as to deceive the eye, and gave the whole the appearance of a brilliant circle suspended in the air: the effect was splendid beyond description, and considerably heightened by the gloom of the forest in the back-ground. While we continued admiring this delightful scene, a band of music struck up at a little distance, and amused us with an excellent concert. We were then led from this enchanting spot, across the illuminated bridge, to a thatched pavilion, open at the sides and supported by pillars ornamented with garlands and twisted festoons of flowers: we found within a cold collation, and sat down to a table covered with all kind of delicacies, with the most costly wines, and every species of fruit which art or nature could furnish. The evening was delightful, the scenery picturesque, the fare delicious; the company in good spirits; for who could be otherwise when every circumstance, which the taste and ingenuity of our fair hostess could invent, conspired to heighten the entertain-

ment? The collation being ended, we rose from table; which I concluded to be the close of the entertainment, but was agreeably disappointed: the gardens were suddenly illuminated; we all ranged about as fancy dictated; and were gratified with the sound of wind instruments, played by persons dispersed in different parts of the grounds. We repassed the bridge, and returned into the cottage, when the two eldest daughters of the princess, who were dressed in Grecian dresses of the most elegant simplicity, performed a Polish and a Cossac dance; the former serious and graceful, the latter comic and lively. The eldest son, a boy of about eight years old, next performed an hornpipe with wonderful agility, and afterwards a dance in the style of the Polish peasants with much humour. It was now past two in the morning; we seemed as if we could stay for ever; but as there must be an end of all sublunary joys, we took our leave, expressing our thanks and gratitude in language far unequal to our feelings. I can scarce form to myself a *fête champêtre* so elegant: and I am satisfied, that it will seldom fall to the lot of the same person to partake of such a pleasing entertainment twice in his life.

The day before our departure from this town we dined with the bishop of Plotzko, the king's brother, at his palace of Jabloniska about eight miles from Warsaw. The palace is an handsome building, constructed after a design, and at the expence, of his majesty. One of the apartments, called the Turkish saloon, is remarkable for its elegance and singularity: it is in the Oriental taste, of an oblong shape, very high, with a fountain in the middle, surrounded with a *parterre* of flowers. Between the *parterre* and sides of the room are ranges of Turkish sofas. The
variegated.

BOOK
II. } variegated tints and rich fragrance of the flowers, joined to the transparency and murmurs of the fountain, produce a most pleasing effect, and, together with the coolness of the apartment, render it a delicious retreat from the heats of summer. The Vistula winds along at a small distance from the palace, through a sandy and almost level country.

In the evening we accompanied prince Stanislaus to his majesty's villa, secure of passing an interesting evening, but it was now embittered with the idea that it would never again be repeated, and that this was the last time of our being admitted to the company of so amiable a monarch. In the following conversation I had an additional proof of his humanity and condescension: "You have been to the prisons*, and I am afraid you found them in a wretched condition." To have mentioned all their abuses, when I knew that his majesty could not alter them, would only have been an insult; I endeavoured therefore to palliate my answer, by remarking, what is but too true, that in several instances they were not so badly regulated as in England. "I am surprized," returned the king, "that a nation, who so justly piques itself for its humanity, should be deficient in so essential an article of police." I then ventured, with as much delicacy as possible, to point out one material abuse in the prisons of Warsaw, which I thought might probably be in his majesty's power to alleviate at least, if not to remedy. The circumstance which I alluded to was, that there is no separate room for the accommodation of sick prisoners; at the same time I begged pardon for this instance of presumption, which nothing but my compassion for the unfortunate could have extorted from me. "He

* See the latter part of Chap. V.

“ who pleads the cause of the unhappy,” replied his majesty, CHAP.
III.
 “ is always listened to with pleasure ;” an expression I shall never forget, and which convinced me, by the pathetic manner in which it was uttered, that it was the real sentiments of his heart. The turn of the conversation led the king to enlarge upon the code of laws preparing for the inspection of the approaching diet ; when his majesty expatiated, with peculiar satisfaction, upon several beneficial regulations calculated to promote the impartial administration of justice. “ Happy Englishmen !” exclaimed the king, “ your house is raised, and mine is yet to build.” Every part of this conference impressed me with the highest opinion of the king’s benevolence, patriotism, and legislative abilities.

After supper, which passed off no less agreeably than the preceding entertainments, we were presented to take leave, when the king condescended to inquire of us the route we intended to take ; and to point out what was most likely to occur worthy of observation. “ Your majesty,” I ventured to observe, “ has omitted the manufactures which you have established at Grodno *.” “ An Englishman,” replied the king, “ after having seen the manufactures of his own country, will find little deserving his curiosity in any other, and particularly in this kingdom, where there is such a settled aversion to commerce. The establishment at Grodno, is but a beginning : I consider it only as a pledge of my future intentions.” I then mentioned the new regulations in the university of Vilna, and the foundation of a physic-garden at Grodno. “ You are deceived by the singularity of names. An English university is as much superior to foreign seminaries, as your nation excels all others in the cultivation

* See Chap. VI. article GRODNO.

BOOK II. " of literature, and the encouragement given to genius and abilities. The academy at Vilna is more the image of " what it was, and of what it ought to be, than an object of " a traveller's curiosity." He then graciously expressed his regret at our departing so soon from Warsaw, and, wishing us a good journey, retired.

I flatter myself, that I shall not appear too minute in relating all these circumstances ; the familiar incidents of domestic life place the character of a sovereign in a truer point of view than the more splendid occurrences of public grandeur, where the real disposition is often disguised by form, or sacrificed to policy.

C H A P. IV.

Villanow *the favourite palace of John Sobieski.—Account of that monarch.—Circumstances of his death.—Intrigues of his queen.—Division and cabals of his family.—Fortunes of his children.—Extinction of his name.—Genealogical table of his descendants.*

AUGUST 6. We passed the day at Villanow, where we CHAP. ^{IV.} dined with prince Zartoriski. He is a fine old man, near fourscore, and lives in the true style of ancient hospitality : he is constantly attended by his own guards, which I mention, not as being peculiar to him, who enjoys the first offices of the republic, but because it leads me to remark that every Polish nobleman may have as many guards as he can afford to maintain.

The prince keeps an open table, at which there are seldom less than twenty or thirty covers. His revenues are large, amounting to near £100,000 sterling *per annum*; and his style of living corresponds to this great income.

Villanow was built by John Sobieski the conqueror of the Turks and deliverer of Vienna : it was the favourite residence of that great monarch, where he mostly lived when not in arms, and where he closed his days. The palace, being sold after his death, came by marriage into the family of Zartoriski ; it was lent to Augustus II. who considerably enlarged it. The outside is ornamented with several basso relievos, representing the principal victories of John Sobieski, which were probably added by Augustus ; for the former

BOOK II. was too modest and unassuming to erect monuments of his own glory.

The æra of John Sobieski, splendid in itself, appears more luminous, when contrasted with the darkness which preceded and followed. The reigns of his immediate predecessor and successor were convulsed with internal commotions; but the spirit of discord and anarchy was laid for a time by his transcendent genius. Under his auspices Poland seemed to revive from the calamities which had long oppressed her, and again to recover her ancient splendour: such is the powerful ascendancy of a great and superior mind. His military talents require no other testimony than the victory of Chotzim, the recovery of the Ukraine, repeated defeats of the Turks and Tartars, and the delivery of Vienna; while an exact insight into the laws and constitution of his country, a manly and persuasive eloquence, a love and protection of literature, an accurate knowledge of foreign languages, and an unceasing habit of affability, moderation, and temperance, render him no less an object of our admiration in his civil capacity *.

But the monarch, who could allay the ferments of public faction, could not suppress the domestic dissensions of his own family; and the same great prince, who kept a turbulent people in awe, and chastised the most formidable enemies, was himself under the controul of his consort, a French.

* Dr. South, in his Account of Poland, thus describes John Sobieski: "The king is a very well-spoken prince, very easy of access, and extremely civil, having most of the qualities requisite to form a complete gentleman. He is not only well versed in all military affairs, but likewise, through the means of a French education, very opulently stored with all polite and scholastical learning. Besides his own tongue,

the Slavonian, he understands the Latin, French, Italian, German, and Turkish languages: He delights much in natural history, and in all the parts of physics. He is wont to reprimand the clergy for not admitting the modern philosophy, such as Le Grand's and Cartesius's, into the universities and schools," c. South's Posthumous Works. p. 24.

lady*, of exquisite beauty and elegant manners, but of restless intrigue, insatiable avarice, and inordinate ambition. CHAP.
IV.
This unprincipled woman fomented a spirit of disunion and jealousy among her children; and loaded her eldest son with every species of indignity. She formed and supported an administration called, by way of derision, the Jewish junto; and introduced into the royal household a narrow parsimony unbecoming the dignity of a powerful sovereign: in a word, by a series of offensive and wicked measures, she lost her husband the affection of his subjects; and rendered the close of his reign as odious, as the preceding part had been popular and glorious.

The decline of Sobieski's life was clouded with affliction. He felt himself a prey to a lingering disease†; yet, instead of deriving any comfort from his nearest connections, he experienced an aggravation of his distress from the unnatural contests of his children, and the intriguing spirit of his wife. The decay of his authority, and the indecent cabals almost openly carrying on about the choice of his successor, affected in the strongest manner a person of his extreme sensibility: his subjects, instead of lamenting, seemed eagerly to anticipate his dissolution. Yet, even in this deplorable state, the king's equanimity, founded on religion and philosophy, did not forsake him; and he retained, even upon his death-bed, that mixture of seriousness and gaiety, strength of reasoning and quickness of repartee, which so strongly marked his character.

He died on the 17th. of June, 1696. Some striking incidents, immediately preceding his death, are transmitted to us by the chancellor Zaluski bishop of Plotzko, who was present when he expired.

* Marie de la Grange. See p. 190.

† His illness was a complication of disorders, gout, stone, asthma, dropsy.

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II.

Some alarming symptoms in Sobieski's disorder having awakened the queen's solicitude about the succession to his fortune, she earnestly importuned Zaluski to present himself before the king, and insinuate some advice with respect to the disposition of his affairs. The bishop, when he entered the apartment, finding the king in an agony of excruciating pain *, endeavoured to give him comfort and hopes of recovery. But Sobieski replied, "I foresee my approaching death; my situation will be the same to-morrow as it is to-day; all consolation is now too late;" then, fetching a deep sigh, his majesty asked him "why he came so seldom to court, and in what manner he employed himself at his diocese alone!" Zaluski, after expatiating upon the duties of his episcopal office and the resources of literature, artfully turned the discourse to the business in question. "Lately," said he, "I have been employed in no very agreeable, yet necessary duty: weighing the frail condition of human nature, remembering, that as Socrates and Plato so all men must die; and considering the dissensions which may arise among my relations after my decease, I have taken an inventory of my effects, and have disposed of them by will." The king, who saw the purport of his discourse, interrupted him with a loud laugh, and exclaimed, in a quotation from Juvenal †, "*O medici, mediam contundite venam*," "What, my Lord Bishop! you whose judgment and good sense I have so long esteemed, do you make your will? What an useless loss of time!" &c. Not discouraged by this fallacy, the bishop persevered in suggesting, "that in justice to his family and country, he ought

* Zaluski, Epist. vol. III. p. 5—14.

† Juvenal, Sat. VI. l. 40. "Open a

"vein." In applying this passage, the king meant to insinuate that the bishop was mad.

“ without delay to regulate the disposition of his effects, and
 “ to declare his final inclinations.” “ For God’s sake,” re-
 turned Sobieski with a more serious tone, “ do not suppose
 “ that any good will arise in this age ! when vice has in-
 “ creased to such an enormous degree, as almost to exclude
 “ all hopes of forgiveness from the mercy of the Deity ! Do
 “ you not see how great is the public iniquity, tumult, and
 “ violence ? all strive who shall blend good and evil without
 “ distinction : the morals of my subjects are overturned ;
 “ will you again restore them ? My orders are not attended
 “ to while I am alive ; can I expect to be obeyed when I am
 “ dead ? That man is happy, who with his own hand dis-
 “ poses of his effects, which cannot be entrusted with secu-
 “ rity to his executors ; while they who leave a will act
 “ absurdly, for consigning to the care of others what is more
 “ secure in the hands of their nearest relations. Have not
 “ the regulations of the kings my predecessors been despised
 “ after their deaths ? Where corruption universally prevails,
 “ judgement is obtained by money : the voice of conscience
 “ is not heard, and reason and equity are no more.” Then
 suddenly giving a ludicrous turn to the conversation, he
 exclaimed, “ What can you say to this, Mr. Will-maker * !”

On the 17th of June, the king growing worse, the bishop
 was again summoned to Villanow, when his majesty heard
 prayers, and was particularly fervent in his devotion. After
 dinner, while he was conversing with his usual gaiety in
 the presence of Zalufki and the abbé Polignac, he was sud-
 denly seized with a stroke of apoplexy ; but recovering a
 little, he confessed, and, having received absolution and ex-
 treme unction, expired almost without a groan, in the 66th

* Quid ad hæc Domine testamentarie !

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II. year of his age, and the 23d of his reign, on the same day in which he was raised to the throne. The name of Sobieski is now extinct. My veneration for this great man prompted me to inquire into the fortunes of his family.

Sobieski * left behind him his wife Marie de la Grange, three sons, James, Alexander, and Constantine, and one daughter Theresa Cunigunda. Marie his wife, daughter of Henry de la Grange captain of the guards to Philip duke of Orleans, and of Francis de la Chartre, was maid of honour to Louisa queen of Ladislaus IV. She was first married to Radzivil prince of Zamoski; within a month after his decease she espoused John Sobieski in secret, and brought him in dower a large portion and the favour of his sovereign. Her influence over her husband, and the ill use she made of her power when he ascended the throne, have been already displayed.

James Louis, the eldest son of Sobieski, was born at Paris in 1667. He accompanied his father to the relief of Vienna, in the 16th year of his age, and narrowly escaped being slain in an action near Banan in Hungary. He afterwards gave several signal proofs of his military talents, that, upon his father's indisposition in the campaign of 1687 against the Turks, he was intrusted with the command of the army, although only in the 21st year of his age; and received from the foldiers all the honours usually paid only to the kings of Poland: a singular mark of deference in an elective monarchy, and which gave encouragement to an expectation of the throne at his father's decease. His father promoted this view with the utmost exertion of his interest; but this project was entirely disconcerted by the indiscretion of the

* The abbé Coyer has written the Life of Sobieski with great spirit and fidelity; and, what is remarkable in a French historian, has cited his authorities.

prince, and the restless intrigues of the queen, who, having conceived the strongest antipathy to her eldest son, and a no-
less violent predilection in favour of her second son Alex-
ander a prince of a more tractable disposition, sacrificed the
dignity of her family to a blind impulse of parental partiality.

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Sobieski had scarcely expired, before the cabals, which even his authority could hardly suppress, broke out with undissimulated violence. The division of the king's treasure caused the most indecent disputes and altercations between his widow and children. James, without a moment's delay, endeavoured, though in vain, to seize it by force, but was anticipated by the queen*, who, by the assistance of the abbé Polignac, sent it into France. She had three great objects in view: either to obtain the crown for Alexander, whom she was secure of governing; to promote the election of Count Jablonowski, great general of the crown, with an intention of marrying him; or to favour the pretensions of the prince of Conti, warmly supported by Louis XV. At all events she was firmly resolved to procure the exclusion of her eldest son, and this was the only point she carried. Had the family of Sobieski been unanimous, James must have been elected king; but no submission † could soften the im-

* The queen sent 3,000,000 French livres = £125,000 into France. Larrey, Hist. Louis XIV. v. II. p. 297.

† Zaluski has given the following curious instance of the queen's implacability. "I and other senators accompanied prince James to the Queen's at Bielitz, but her majesty being informed of our approach, retired precipitately from the palace in order to avoid the interview; we overtook her about a mile from Bielitz, and ordered the driver to stop, while she repeatedly urged him to continue his route: at length the coachman, alarmed by our

"number and threats, stopped the carriage. On our advancing to the queen, she received us with great marks of displeasure; and although the prince prostrated himself before her, and embraced her feet with the most profound respect, he was not able to extort from her more than a short and evasive answer. Upon his retreating, with his eyes full of tears, I myself used some endeavours to soften her resentment; which, however, had no other effect than to draw from her additional expressions of disgust and indignation." Zaluski, vol. III. p. 135.

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II.

placable resentment of the queen, who, even when she found it impracticable to secure the election of her favourite son Alexander, or to compass any of her other designs, both in secret and openly set herself in opposition to the pretensions of James. When the diet of convocation assembled at Warsaw, the queen summoned a meeting of senators and nuntios in her apartment, whom she addressed in regard to her son with all the virulence which inveterate fury could inspire, and all the affected candour towards the Poles which the most consummate hypocrisy could suggest*. “Although
 “I am not by birth a Pole, I am one by inclination, and am
 “more attached to this nation than to my own family.
 “Reflect maturely whom you will nominate your king in
 “the place of my much-regretted husband, and I sincerely
 “recommend to you not to elect one of my children. I too
 “well know all their dispositions; and particularly caution
 “you not to raise to the throne the eldest prince James.
 “His inconsiderate rashness will involve the kingdom in
 “speedy and inevitable ruin.” The bishop of Plotsko, though her creature, disgusted at these appearances of unnatural rancour, importuned her to desist; but she exclaimed with greater violence: “Do not interrupt me; I will never
 “retract what I have said, as I prefer the safety of the re-
 “public to my own interests and the splendour of my fa-
 “mily. I again exhort the Poles to elect any candidate in
 “preference to one of my children.” This virulent opposition to the views of her eldest son was but too successful: he was rejected by a great majority, and the choice of the nation fell upon Augustus elector of Saxony.

* Zaluski III. p. 102.

The sequel of the history of Sobieski's family, now reduced to a private station, will be comprised in a short compass. After the defeat of Augustus II. at the battle of Cliflow, Charles XII. determined to give a new king to Poland; and his veneration for the memory of John Sobieski induced him to offer that dignity to his eldest son. In consequence of this resolution, Augustus was declared by the primate unworthy to reign; and a diet of election was convened at Warsaw. James was then at Breslaw, impatiently expecting his nomination to the throne so worthily filled by his father, and from which he had been deprived by the unprecedented malice of a mother. But the usual singularity of his ill-fortune still pursued him: as he was hunting with his brother Constantine, a small detachment of Saxon horsemen surprized and carried him off; and, instead of receiving a crown, he was confined in the castle of Pleiffenburgh near Leipsic. Constantine * might have escaped; but, from an impulse of fraternal affection, voluntarily accompanied his brother into confinement, and administered consolation under this grievous reverse of fortune. This event happened on the 28th of February, 1704.

In the month of September, 1706, the two brothers were removed to the fortress of Konigstein, as to a place of still greater security; but in December of the same year fortunately obtained their enlargement, upon the request of Charles XII. at the conclusion of the celebrated treaty with Augustus II. in which the latter was compelled to abdicate the throne of Poland. This abdication, however, did not revive the pretensions of James to the crown, the election having fallen, during his confinement, upon Stanislaus Let-

* Lengnich, Hist. Pol. p. 342.

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II.

zinski. From this period James passed a private and retired life, and seems to have entirely renounced all his views upon the crown of Poland. He died in 1737 at Zolkiew in Red Ruffia, in the 70th year of his age; and in him, as the last male of his family, the name of Sobieski became extinct. His wife was Hedwige Eleonora*, daughter of Philip William elector palatine; by her he left two daughters, Mary Charlotte and Clementina Mary.

The eldest, Mary Charlotte, married in 1723 Frederic Maurice de la Tour duke of Bouillon, who dying within a few days after the marriage, she espoused, with a dispensation from the pope, his brother Charles Godfrey the same year. By him she left issue a son, the present duke of Bouillon, married to a lady of the house of Lorraine, and a daughter, who espoused the duke of Rohan-Rohan. In these noble persons and their progeny the female line of Sobieski still exists.

Clementina Mary, the youngest daughter of prince James, married at Montefiascone, in 1719, James Edward Stuart, com-

* Sister of Eleonora Magdalena wife of the emperor Leopold. James had been first contracted in marriage to the widow of the elector of Brandenburg's brother, a rich heiress of the house of Radzivil in Lithuania, but upon this occasion he first experienced that ill fortune which afterwards attended him through life. "An envoy was sent to Berlin to negotiate the marriage, which was agreed upon by the elector's and her consent, and the prince himself came thither in person, with a numerous attendance, to consummate it. At the same time came to Berlin the elector palatine's brother, prince Charles of Neuburg, brother to the empress, to see the ceremony of the marriage; but this prince, taking more fancy to him than to the prince of Poland, gave him encouragement to make

his addresses to her; which he did with that success, that he engaged her so far and so unexpectedly, that he was privately married to her the night before she was to be married to the prince of Poland, so that prince James was forced to return back shamefully: which the king's father resented so highly, that he was resolved to have satisfaction from the elector of Brandenburg, for suffering his son to receive so notorious an affront at his court; but the elector, knowing nothing of that private intrigue, justified himself, and all animosities were at last adjusted by prince James's marrying his rival's sister the princess of Neuburg, who was sent into Poland, and has two daughters by him." Connor's History of Poland, v. II. p. 188, 189.

monly

monly known by the name of the Chevalier de St. George, the pretender to the British throne. This princess, though a woman of great personal and mental endowments, could not engage the affection of her husband; and she was so offended at his attachment to a favourite mistress, that she withdrew from his house, and remained for some time in a convent near Rome. Afterwards, being reconciled to him, she died at Rome on the 18th of June, 1735, aged 33; her death, according to the account of a writer * attached to the Stuart family, was occasioned by religious abstinence and too severe mortifications: her remains were interred with regal pomp in the church of St. Peter, and a sumptuous monument was erected to her memory. She left two sons by the Chevalier, who are now alive: Charles, usually termed count of Albany; and Henry, cardinal of Yorke. Charles married the princess of Stolberg, by whom he has no children: a misunderstanding not long after their marriage taking place between them, she quitted her husband, and took shelter in a convent in the Tuscan dominions; and, as her quarrel was espoused by the cardinal of Yorke, she has obtained a separation for life. We may therefore foresee the extinction of the Sobieski line in the Stuart branch. The ample patrimony of James Sobieski was divided equally between his two daughters. Having lent a considerable sum to the house of Austria, he obtained in return a mortgage upon certain estates in Silesia, which, upon the division of the property after his decease, fell to the Stuart family, and were in their possession when the king of Prussia secured Silesia in the year 1740. His Prussian majesty confiscated these

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* Letters from a Painter in Italy, where her funeral and monument is described v. II. p. 56.

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II. lands to himself by right of conquest ; and the house of Austria never made any further compensation for the above-mentioned loan.

Alexander, second son of John Sobieski, was born at Dantzic in 1677 ; and as he was brought into the world after his father had been raised to the throne, he was usually styled by his mother, who adored him, the son of the king ; while she affected to call his brother James, who was born before his father's election, the son of the great marshal. Excited by his mother's partiality, and inflamed by an ambition natural to youth, he even aspired to the throne in opposition to his brother James ; afterwards however, when a more mature age had corrected his passions, and his mother's influence had ceased to mislead him, he declined, from a principle of fraternal affection, the acceptance of that very crown, which had once been the object of his warmest hopes. When Charles XII. upon the imprisonment of James, offered the crown of Poland to Alexander, the latter, with a disinterestedness which reflects the highest honour upon his memory, refused it with this generous declaration, " that no interest should tempt him to avail himself of his brother's misfortunes *."

Alexander passed his days principally at Rome with the queen his mother. During his residence in that city, he never made his appearance at the court of Clement XI. because that pontiff had refused to receive him with the marks of distinction which he claimed as a king's son. But the honours which were withheld from him while alive, were granted unto him when dead ; his body being permitted to lie in royal state, and to be interred with the same ceremonies,

* Voltaire's Charles XII. p. 90.

which attended the funeral of Christina queen of Sweden. CHAP.
IV.
He expired in June 1714, having assumed upon his death-bed the habit of a capuchin, from a superstitious notion of insuring his salvation *.

Constantine, having regained his liberty at the same time with his brother James, married a German baroness, maid of honour to the princess of Neuburg; a marriage of passion, soon followed by repentance, and from which he in vain endeavoured to procure a release by a divorce. He decessed in 1726 without children.

Theresa Cunigunda, the daughter of John Sobieski, married in 1696 Maximilian Emanuel elector of Bavaria, and died a widow 1730. Her son Charles Albert, who succeeded to the electorate of Bavaria, was the unfortunate emperor Charles VII. and her grandson Maximilian Joseph expired in 1778 without issue. Her grand-daughter Maria Antonietta married Frederic Christian elector of Saxony; and the blood of John Sobieski still flows in the veins of their progeny, the present electoral family.

Marie de la Grange, the consort of John Sobieski, passed the first part of her widowhood at Rome with her father the marquis of Arquien, who, from being captain of the Swiss guards to the duke of Orleans, had been promoted by her interest to the dignity of cardinal. She continued to reside in that city until the year 1714, when she retired into France, her native country. Louis XIV. assigned her the castle of Blois for her residence, where she died in 1716 †, above 70 years of age. Her remains were transported to Warsaw, and from thence conveyed, together with those of her husband in 1734, to Cracow, and interred in the cathedral of that city ‡.

* Vie de Sobieski, v. III. p. 176.

† Ibid. p. 177.

‡ Lengnich, Hist. p. 390.

Genealogical Table of JOHN SOBIESKI's Family.

John Sobieski died June 17, 1696; married Marie de la Grange, who died at Blois, 1716.

James Louis b. 1667; d. at Zolkiew in Poland 1737; m. Hedwige Eleonora daughter of Philip William Elector Palatine.

Maria Charlotte b. 5th Nov. 1697; m. in 1723, 1. Frederic Maurice de la Tour, duke of Bouillon, who dying she married in the same year, 2. Charles Godfrey his brother.

Godfrey Charles Henry de la Tour duke of Bouillon m. Louisa Henrietta daughter of Louis prince of Lorraine, born 1728.

James Leopold, b. 1743; m. the princess of Hesse Rheinfelder.

Clementina Mary b. 1702; m. at Montefalcone, in Sept. 1710, James Edward, the pretender to the British throne: she died at Rome in 1735.

Louisa Henrietta, m. Jules Hercule duke of Rohan Rohan 1743.

Henry Louis b. 1745.

Theresa Cunigunda, b. March 6, 1672; m. in 1695 Maximilian Emanuel Elector of Bavaria; d. 1730.

Charles VII. Albert, b. 1697; Emp. 1742; d. 1745; married Maria Amalia daughter of the Emperor Joseph I.

Maria Antonietta, b. July, 1724; m. 1747 Frederic Christian Elector of Saxony; died 1783.

Frederic Augustus, the present Elector of Saxony, b. 1750; married Maria Amalia princess of Deuxponts.

Charles, the present pretender, b. at Rome 1720; m. a princess of Stolberg.

Henry, Cardinal of York, born 1725.

Alexander Benedikt, b. 1677; d. at Rome 1714 unmarried.

Ferdinand Maria, b. 1609; d. 1738; m. Anne daughter of Philip William Elector Palatine.

Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, b. 1754; d. Jan. 1, 1778, without issue; m. Anne Sophia da. of Augustus III. King of Poland.

Clement Francis de Paula, marr. Anne, daughter of Joseph Charles Prince Palatine; d. without issue.

Constantine Ladislaus, b. 1689; died 1726 without issue; m. a German baroness, died without issue.

C H A P. V.

Coins of Poland.—Public library.—State of learning.—Literature encouraged by the king.—Wretched administration of justice.—Prisons of Warsaw.—Punishments for criminal offences.—Torture abolished.—Laws relating to debtors.

BEFORE our departure from Warsaw we visited some CHAP.
V. objects of literary curiosity usually seen by foreigners. We first adjourned to the palace to examine some coins and medals relative to the history of Poland. The count of Mazinſki, natural son of Augustus III purchased the greatest part of this collection, and presented it to his present majesty. I shall not enter upon any account of the foreign coins and medals, but content myself with mentioning a few which relate to Poland.

The earliest coin is that of Boleslaus I. son of Micislaus, the first Polish prince converted to Christianity : this piece of money was struck in 999, probably soon after the introduction of coining into Poland. There was no head of the sovereign upon it, only the Polish eagle on one side, and a crown on the reverse.

The series of coins is broken until Sigismund I. from whose accession it is continued in an uninterrupted line, Henry of Valois excepted ; during whose short reign no money was struck in Poland. I noticed a curious piece of Albert of Brandenburg as duke of Prussia, after he had wrested that country from the Teutonic knights. The
Prussian

BOOK II. Prussian eagle is marked with an S, to shew that Albert held his lands as feudal and tributary to Sigismund I. There was a fine medal in honour of John Sobieski's raising the siege of Vienna, with the following punning inscription : *Urbem servastis et orbem*. I likewise observed a medal of his present majesty, cast in the late turbulent times ; it had a well-executed likeness of the king on one side, and on the reverse an emblem of civil commotions, a ship in a storm with the classical allusion, *Ne cede malis*.

The public library next engaged our attention. The collection owes its beginning to the private bounty of two bishops of the family of Zalufki ; the following inscription is over the door ; "*Civium usui perpetuo Zaluficorum par illustre dicavit 1714*." It has since received several large additions from various benefactors ; and, as the librarian informed me, contains above 100,000 volumes. It is very rich in books and manuscripts relating to the Polish history.

I have only a few observations to make upon the general state of literature in Poland, my stay in this country not being long enough to collect a more circumstantial account.

There are two universities, one at Cracow, and the other at Vilna ; the former was under the direction of priests, called Academicians ; and the latter was superintended by the Jesuits ; but in both, the course of studies was chiefly confined to theology. Since the suppression of the Jesuits, the king has established a committee of education, composed of members distinguished either by high station, or enlightened understandings. The committee has an absolute power in matters of education ; appoints professors ; regulates their salary ; and directs their studies. The advantages of this regulation have already been experienced.

Although

Although from the nature of the government learning has never been widely diffused in Poland, yet there never have been wanting men of genius and literature, who have been an ornament to their country : and perhaps no nation can boast a more regular succession of excellent historians ; or a greater variety of writers deeply conversant in the laws, statutes, and constitution. Under Sigismond I. and his son Sigismond Augustus, the arts and sciences began to be greatly distinguished by royal patronage ; they were cherished by some of the succeeding monarchs, particularly John Sobieski ; but no prince has paid them more attention than the present king Stanislaus Augustus. His munificence in this particular has been attended with the happiest effects. The Polish literati have, within a few years, given to the public a much greater variety of elegant performances than ever appeared in any former period of the same length. What is more material, a taste for science has spread itself among the nobles, and begins to be regarded as an accomplishment. The enlargement of mind, derived by these licentious spirits from this new pursuit, has already weaned several of them from their habits of barbarous turbulence, and greatly humanized their civil deportment. It may, perhaps, in time teach them thoroughly to comprehend the true interest of their country, and the expedience of due subordination, hitherto deemed incompatible with liberty : these petty despots will, perhaps, be induced to lay aside that contempt for their vassals ; they will perceive that the burghers and peasants are the true supports of their country ; and that Poland wants nothing but justice and order to become as flourishing as the neighbouring states.

During my stay at Warsaw I visited the several prisons ; and made inquiries into the nature of the various tribunals,

BOOK II. and into the different modes of punishment for criminal offences: my engaging in this employment was principally owing to a casual meeting I had at Vienna with the benevolent Mr. Howard, whose humane attention to the outcasts of society has reflected so much honour on himself and his country. Informing him that I was proceeding to the Northern kingdoms, I intimated an intention to examine the state of the prisons and penal laws in those countries; and professed a readiness to lay before him the result of my observations. Mr. Howard approved my design, suggested several useful hints, and even dictated some specific questions tending greatly to facilitate my inquiries.

I shall not enter upon a description of the prisons in Warsaw, as they afforded scarcely any thing worthy of particular observation; I shall therefore confine myself to the general administration of justice.

Atrocious crimes, such as murder, &c. are punished by beheading or hanging; lesser delinquencies by whipping, hard labour, and imprisonment: the nobles never suffer any corporal punishment; but are liable only to imprisonment and death.

Torture was abolished in 1776, by an edict of the diet, introduced by the influence of the king; a regulation as expressive of his majesty's judgement as of his benevolence. It is an infinite satisfaction to see the rights of humanity extending themselves in countries, where they had been but little known; a circumstance that must cast a great reflection on those nations which, like France, have attained the highest pitch of civilization, and yet retain the useless and barbarous custom of torture*.

* *La question préparatoire*, or the infliction of torture, for forcing the confession of a crime from an accused person, has indeed been lately abolished in France; but the torture used for the discovery of accomplices is still retained.

The defects of the police in this country are by no circumstances so strongly evinced, as by the frequent impunity of the most atrocious crimes: this abuse may be traced from the following causes.

CHAP.
V.

1. The greatest criminals find at times little difficulty in engaging the protection of some of the principal nobles, who occasionally assemble their vassals and retainers in arms, and drive the officers of justice from their lands. This anarchy resembles the state of Europe in the 14th century, during the prevalence of the feudal laws, when every great baron possessed territorial jurisdiction, and was almost equal in authority to the king.

2. The law, esteemed by the Polish gentry the great bulwark of their liberty, which enacts *, that no gentleman can be arrested for misdemeanors until he is convicted of them, notwithstanding the strongest degree of presumptive proof: the offender, of course, if likely to be found guilty, takes care to withdraw himself before the completion of the process. Murder indeed, and robbery on the highway, and a few other capital crimes, are excluded from this privilege: but even in those flagrant enormities no gentleman can be taken into custody, unless actually apprehended in the commission of the offence; and when the crime is thus positively ascertained, which in the nature of things can seldom occur, the culprit cannot be sentenced to capital punishment by any other tribunal than a diet.

3. The right which every town possesses of having its own criminal courts of justice, with judges selected solely from the inhabitants. Many of these towns are at present reduced to such a low state, as scarcely to deserve the name

* *Neminem captivabimus nisi jure victum.*

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II.

of villages : in these places, of course, the judges are necessarily persons of the lowest description, and totally unqualified for the discharge of their high office. Innocence and guilt, by this means, are often not distinguished, and as often wantonly confounded. Not only the power of levying discretionary fines, but the infliction of corporal punishment, and even of death itself, is entrusted to these contemptible tribunals. The chancellor Zamoiscki has, in the new code of laws which he is preparing for the inspection of the diet, described the abuses of these petty courts of justice in the most forcible language ; and proposes, as the only adequate remedy of the evil, to annihilate this right of penal jurisdiction in all but nine of the principal towns.

4. There are no public officers whose province it is to prosecute the offenders in the king's name. Hence, even in case of murder, robbery upon the highway, and the most atrocious crimes, the delinquent generally escapes, unless some individual indicts and brings him to trial : this seldom happens, as the process is attended with no small share of expence.

The jurisdiction of the great marshal is almost the only exception to this flagrant defect of common justice. His jurisdiction is in force in the place where the king resides, and to the distance of three Polish miles. Within that district the great marshal can arrest and prosecute for crimes of felony without any plaintiff. In cases also of high treason, certain officers of the crown, called *insligatores*, are empowered of their own motion to cite suspicious persons before the diet.

5. The power which every plaintiff possesses of withdrawing his prosecution, even in cases of the greatest enormity : this custom screens all but the indigent from the pursuit of justice ; as persons of moderate property are generally

able to bribe the necessity or avarice of their prosecutor. CHAP. V.
 This practice, founded on a narrow principle, that outrages against individuals are merely private, not public offences, is an instance of the grossest barbarism, which all civilized nations have renounced; for it requires a very small degree of legislative improvement to perceive, that private wrongs, when unchastized, become highly injurious to the community at large, by affording encouragement to similar offences.

In visiting the prisons I saw the bad effects of this usage exemplified in a striking instance. Two persons, indicted for the assassination of a Jew, had been permitted to remain in prison upwards of a twelvemonth, without being brought to a trial. The widow of the deceased, upon whose accusation they were imprisoned, having agreed, on the payment of a stipulated sum, to drop the suit and grant them a release, their inability to satisfy her demand had been the only reason for detaining them so long in confinement; and as when I saw them they had just raised the money, they were upon the point of obtaining a final discharge.

From this sketch of the administration of justice in this country, the expediency of a thorough reformation is very apparent. That able legislator count Zamoisiki, in the new code of laws which I have frequently had occasion to mention, has paid particular attention to the amendment of the criminal laws. But as any innovations in the courts of justice, calculated to produce any essential benefit, must materially infringe the privileges of the nobles, and counteract the national prejudices, the most useful code can scarcely expect to receive the sanction of the diet.

The laws relating to debtors are as follow. The creditor proceeds against the debtor at his own expence; and, until the trial is finished, allows him eight groschens, or three half-

BOOK
II. half-pence, a day for his maintenance ; when the debt is proved, the creditor is released from the above-mentioned contribution : the debtor continues in prison, at the discretion of his creditor, until the debt is discharged ; and, if he has no means of subsistence, is obliged to maintain himself by working with the delinquents in cutting wood, sawing stone, or cleaning the streets.

In case a gentleman contracts a debt, an action lies against his lands and goods, and not against his person, unless he gives a note of hand with a double signature, one intended as an ascertainment of the debt, the other as a renunciation of his exemption from arrests ; but a person of high distinction, even though he should bind himself by this engagement, can bid defiance to all danger of imprisonment.

C H A P. VI.

Departure from Warsaw.—Biallistock.—Entertainment at the countess of Braniski's palace.—Dutchy of Lithuania.—Its union with Poland.—Description of Grodno.—Diets.—Physic garden.—General productions of Lithuania.—Account of the Wild-ox.—Of the Remix and its pendent nest.—Manufactures.—Entertainments.—Hospitality of the Poles.—Election-dinner, and ball.

BEFORE we quitted Warsaw we received another instance CHAP. VI. of his majesty's wonderful condescension, a letter written with his own hand to the post-master at Grodno, ordering that we should receive every accommodation which could be procured, and that we should be permitted to visit the manufactures and every object of curiosity.

We quitted the capital on the 10th of August, crossed the Vistula, and passed through the suburbs of Praga. About an English mile from Warsaw a forest begins, and continues, with little interruption, to the distance of eighteen miles. At Wengrow we observed a fine corps of Russian troops quartered in the village. Some of the places in our route, though extremely wretched, enjoyed their own police and courts of justice : they consisted of wooden huts, mostly thatched, some roofed with wood, and a few with tiles. The country was chiefly sandy and level until we arrived at the Bog, which we crossed at Gran : the river was broad and shallow. We ascended from its banks a small rise, and found

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a better soil, and the country more diversified. The road was not unpleasant, running through fields sown with different species of corn, hemp, and flax; but we never lost sight of the forest, and always saw it skirting the horizon. In many places I observed the wood encroaching upon the fields, and young trees shooting up in great numbers wherever cultivation had been neglected. I was informed that this is the case in most parts of Poland, many traces of former enclosures, and even the vestiges of paved streets, being discernible in the centre of the forests.

The largest place we passed through was Bielsk, capital of the palatinate of Podlachia, where the dietine for the district is held: it is little better than a miserable village, though called, in the geographical descriptions of Poland, a large town. Between Bielsk and Woytszi our wheel was nearly taking fire, and while we stopped at a small village to have it greased, I entered several cottages, which I found infinitely worse even than those wretched dwellings which I had before examined in the towns where the inhabitants were more free; in the latter we observed furniture and some conveniences; in these nothing but the bare walls. The peasants were perfect slaves, and their habitations and appearance corresponded with their miserable situation: I could scarcely have figured to myself such objects of poverty and misery. The country we traversed from Warsaw to Biallistock was in general sandy; but in some places the soil was very rich. All parts were fit for cultivation, and many spots had the appearance of great fertility. We remarked, however, that the harvest, even in the most fruitful tracts, was but indifferent; a circumstance evidently owing to the defect in husbandry.

We arrived late in the evening at Biallistock, a very neat and well-built town. The streets were broad, and the houses,
which

which were in general plaistered, stood detached from each other at uniform distances. The superior neatness of Bial-
 listock is owing to the illustrious family of Braniski, whose
 palace stands close to the town, and who have contributed to
 ornament their place of residence. It belongs to the countess
 Braniski, sister of the present king, and widow of the late
 great general Braniski; who, notwithstanding this alliance,
 warmly protested against the election of his present majesty.

CHAP.
VI.

The morning after our arrival, the countess, to whom we
 had a letter from prince Stanislaus Poniatowski, honoured us
 with a most polite invitation to dinner, and sent her carriage
 to convey us to the palace. We were most politely received
 by our noble hostess, and were convinced from her amiable
 manners, condescending behaviour, and lively flow of con-
 versation, that affability and good sense are natural to the
 family of Poniatowski.

We found a large company assembled at table, whom the
 countess had invited to partake of her hospitable board,
 which was elegantly supplied with every delicacy. Among
 other topics, the conversation turned upon our mode of tra-
 velling through a country so poor and wretched, and so de-
 ficient in comfortable accommodations. "I suppose," said a
 Polish gentleman, "you carry your beds with you;" to
 which we replied in the negative. "How do you sleep then?"
 "Upon straw, when we can get it; and, when we are not so
 fortunate, upon the floor, upon a bench, or upon a table."
 "You take your provisions," returned the Pole.—"Very
 seldom."—"How do you live then?"—"Upon what we
 can procure: one of our servants is sent before, and gene-
 rally contrives to obtain some kind of provision, which
 Vol. L E c " may

BOOK II. “ may sooth, if not satisfy, the demands of hunger ; but we
 { “ have travelling appetites, and are not fastidious.”—“ You
 “ are not, however, without knives, forks, and spoons ; for
 “ such conveniences are not known among the peasants.”
 —“ We each of us carry a clasp-knife ; are now and then
 “ so fortunate as to meet with a wooden spoon ; and never
 “ regret the want of a fork.” Here our noble hostess made a
 proposal to supply us with knives, forks, and spoons, together
 with wine and provision : upon our declining this offer, she
 pleasantly replied, “ Perhaps you are above accepting them ;
 I know the English are very haughty ; will you purchase them ?” We made answer, that we were not
 afraid of laying ourselves under any obligations to a person
 of her politeness and generosity ; but that the object of our
 travels was to gratify curiosity rather than appetite ; and that
 we thought ourselves most likely to become acquainted with
 the domestic œconomy of the peasants, by partaking of their
 accommodations, and by relying on them for the supply
 of our wants. Willing, however, not to appear rude in a
 rejection of the whole offer, we accepted a few bottles of
 wine.

The countess did us the honour to conduct us herself
 through the apartments of the palace, which is a large
 building in the Italian taste ; and, on account of its grandeur
 and magnificence, generally called the Versailles of Poland.
 It was formerly only a royal hunting seat ; John Casimir
 gave it, together with Bialistock and other estates, to Czarnietki,
 a general highly distinguished by his victories over the Swedes
 at the time that Poland was nearly crushed by her enemies.
 Among the curiosities preserved in the palace is a golden cup,
 which Czarnietki used after

after the custom of those times to wear fastened to his girdle; and an embroidered sash which he took among the spoils after a defeat of Charles X. and supposed to belong to that monarch. Czarnieski left one daughter, who married Braniski the father of the late great general, by which marriage the estate came into that family. There is one apartment which Augustus III. used to occupy whenever he passed this way to the diet of Grodno; and which, out of respect to the memory of their late sovereign, is left in its original state. In another room is a fine portrait of Augustus in his royal robes, with his head shaved in the Polish fashion, as he appeared on the day of his coronation. In the afternoon we drove about the park and grounds, which are very extensive, and elegantly laid out in the English taste.

We closed this agreeable day with a supper at the palace, and took leave, with regret, of its amiable and noble mistress.

August 13. We set off early from Bialistock: for some way we traversed a continued forest; afterwards the country became more open, abounding with corn and pasture; the towns and villages were long and straggling; all the houses, and even the churches, of wood; crowds of beggars surrounded our carriage whenever we stopped; Jews made their appearance without end. About four we arrived at Grodno; we first passed through some wretched suburbs inhabited by Jews, and ferried over the Niemen, which is broad, clear, and shallow, ascended the rising banks, and came to the town, which is built upon an eminence overlooking the river.

Though Vilna is the capital, yet Grodno is esteemed the principal town in Lithuania.

Formerly Lithuania was entirely unconnected with Poland, and was governed by its own sovereigns under the

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II.

title of great-dukes. From that rivalry, which usually subsists between contiguous states, the two nations were engaged in a series of perpetual wars until 1386, when the great-duke Ladislaus Jaghellon, having espoused Hedwige and embraced the Christian religion, was raised to the Polish throne, and reigned over both countries.

Ladislaus soon became so sincere a convert to the new religion, which he at first adopted from interested views, that he endeavoured to propagate its doctrines among his idolatrous subjects in Lithuania. In subserviency to this great work, he ordered the hallowed groves to be cut down, the oracular shrine to be destroyed, the sacred fire to be extinguished, and the serpents worshipped as Gods by his superstitious subjects to be slain. A belief universally prevailed among the people, that whoever profanely attempted to destroy these objects of their worship, would be struck with instantaneous death: when the falsity of this tradition was proved by the impunity of those concerned in the supposed sacrilege, the Lithuanians flocked in such crouds to be converted, that the priests could only bestow separate baptism on persons of distinction; but distributed the multitude in ranks, and, sprinkling them with water, gave one christian name to each rank without distinction of sex *. Ladislaus, having thus introduced the Christian religion into Lithuania, nominated his brother Casimir Skirgello governor of that duchy, and returned to Poland; but a civil war being excited by the

* " Agnè gens barbara majorum suorum religionem relinquebat. Sed cum iussu regis sacer ignis extinctus, templum araque eius diruta & adytum, unde oracula à sacerdote edebantur, eversum. Villæ esset, necatque serpentes, & sacrificiis nolla ejusquam lesione," &c. &c.
" Sed cum immentè laboris esset singulos

" sacro fonte tingere, nobilioribus tantum hic honor habitus: reliquum verò vulgum turmatim distributum, aquâ lustrali sive sacrâ à sacerdotibus conspersum est, unamque nomen cuique turmæ tam virorum quam mulierum inditum." Cromer, p. 368.

ambition of Alexander, surnamed Vitoldus, and by the discontent of the people, still attached to their Pagan rites, Lithuania was for some time a scene of tumult and hostility. At length, by a compromise in 1392, Vitoldus was appointed great-duke, and Ladislaus contented himself with a reservation of nominal sovereignty.

In 1401 the nobles of Lithuania assembled at Vilna, and entered upon an offensive and defensive alliance with the king and republic of Poland.

In 1413 it was stipulated, in a diet of Poles and Lithuanians held in the town of Hrodlo, that, upon the demise of Vitoldus, the Lithuanians should acknowledge no other great-duke but the person who was appointed by the king, and with the agreement of the two nations; that, in case Ladislaus died without issue, the Poles should elect no king without the consent of Vitoldus and the Lithuanians; and that a diet, composed of representatives from both nations, should meet whenever it was thought necessary, at Lublin or Parzow *. From the demise of Vitoldus, who expired in 1439 in the 80th year of his age, the great-dukes were sometimes, in conformity to this compact, nominated by the kings of Poland; at other times, in violation of it, by the Lithuanians. At length Sigismund I. fortunately united in his person the two sovereignties, and was succeeded in both by his son Sigismund Augustus.

Hitherto the connection between the two nations had been more an alliance than an union; but Sigismund Augustus having no children, and being the only surviving male heir of the Jaghellon family, planned the union of Poland and Lithuania, left upon his decease the connection

*-Dlugossius & Cramer.

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II.

should be dissolved, and the two nations be again governed by different princes. After some difficulties, and being once frustrated in his attempt, he obtained, from a general diet held at Lublin in 1569, that Poland and Lithuania should from henceforth be united and considered as one nation; that one sovereign should be chosen conjointly by both people; that the Lithuanians should send nuntios to the general diet, be admitted into the senate, and have an equal share in the public honours and employments; that no alliance should be made with foreign powers, and no embassadors dispatched without the consent of both parties; that the same money should pass current in both countries; in short, that they should have no distinction of privilege or interest. Upon the ratification of this union, Sigismund Augustus renounced all hereditary right to Lithuania. From this period the same person has been uniformly elected king of Poland and great-duke of Lithuania; and the two nations have been incorporated into one republic *.

Grodno is a large and straggling place, but contains no more than 3000 Christians, excluding the persons employed in the manufactures, and 1000 Jews. It has greatly the appearance of a town in decline; containing a mixture of wretched hovels, falling houses, and ruined palaces, with magnificent gateways, remains of its ancient magnificence. A few habitations in good repair make the contrast more striking.

The old palace in which the kings used to reside during the diets, stood upon an hill of sand rising abruptly from the river, and forming part of its bank: some remains of the ancient walls still exist. Opposite to this hill

* Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. I. p. 30 to 33.

is the new palace, built, but never inhabited, by Augustus III. as it was not finished at the time of his death. In this palace are the apartments wherein the diets are held, or rather will be held, if they are ever again summoned to Grodno. According to the treaty of Hrodlo, Lublin, or Parzow, or any other more commodious town, was appointed for the meeting of the Polish and Lithuanian deputies; but in the articles of union it was stipulated, that Warsaw should be the place where the representatives of the two nations were to assemble*. In 1673, as we have already observed, it was enacted, that every third diet should be held at Grodno; and, in conformity to this law, the first national assembly was convened here in 1678 under John Sobieski. But when the next turn of Grodno arrived, that monarch summoned the diet to Warsaw: the Lithuanians strongly opposed this infringement of their rights; and their deputies, instead of proceeding to Warsaw, where the king, senate, and nuntios of Poland were met, repaired to this town, and formed a separate diet. In order to prevent a civil war, which this division might occasion, a negotiation took place, and it was at length settled, that the diet of 1673 should assemble at Warsaw, but be called the diet of Grodno, and that the marshal should be chosen from the Lithuanian nuntios†. From that time the diets have been occasionally summoned to Grodno; until the reign of his present majesty, when they have been uniformly held at Warsaw; and this innovation has been tacitly agreed to by the Lithuanians, on account of the distance of this town from the royal residence, as well as in consideration of the troubles which convulsed the country.

We carried a letter of recommendation to Mr. Gillibert, a French naturalist of great learning and abilities, who has

* Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. II. p. 315, &c.

† Vie de Sobieski, p. 19.

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the superintendence of the college and physic garden. The king of Poland has established in this place a Royal Academy of Physick for Lithuania, in which ten students are instructed in physick, and twenty in surgery. They are all lodged, boarded, and taught at his majesty's expence : an institution that reflects the highest honour upon the king, and which has greatly flourished under the royal patronage and protection. The physic garden, which did not exist in 1776, made, when I passed through the town in 1778, a very respectable appearance ; which was entirely owing to Mr. Gillibert's attention and care. It contained 1500 exotics, amongst which were several delicate American plants sown in the open air, and which thrived remarkably well in this climate. Mr. Gillibert told me, that he had discovered 200 species of plants in Lithuania, which were only thought indigenous in Siberia, Tartary, and Sweden ; and that in the whole duchy he had observed 980 species, exclusive of the sorts common to most countries in Europe.

Mr. Gillibert had lately formed a small collection, chiefly consisting of the productions of Lithuania ; and was employed in arranging materials for a natural history of this duchy : he proposes to begin his publications upon that subject with a *Flora Lithuanica* ; which will be successively followed by an account of the mineralogy, insects, quadrupeds, and birds. Considering the infant state of natural knowledge in this country, the design will require great length of time and perseverance before it is completed ; but there is nothing which assiduity and attention will not effect.

The animals roving in the boundless forests of Lithuania are the bear, the wolf, the elk, the wild-ox, the lynx, the beaver, the glouton, the wild-cat, &c.

At Grodno I had an opportunity of seeing a female of the wild-ox, probably the same quadruped which is described by Aristotle under the name of *Bonafus*, styled *Urus* in the Commentaries of Cæsar, and called *Bifon* by some naturalists. That which fell under my observation was not full grown, about the size of a common English cow, shaped like a buffalo, but without the protuberance over its shoulders: its neck was high and thick, and covered with long hair, or mane, which fringed down the throat and breast, and hung almost to the ground, somewhat resembling that of an old lion; the forehead was narrow, with two horns turning inwards*, and the tongue of a bluish colour. The male, as we were informed, is sometimes six feet in height, and is more fierce and shaggy than the female.

Linnaeus has classed the *Bonafus*, the *Urus*, and the *Bifon* (probably the same animal with different names) under three species; Buffon reduces them to two, the *Urus* and the *Bifon*; and Pennant has comprised them all under one species†. His opinion has been lately adopted by Pallas, in a very curious dissertation published in the Acts of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg. That celebrated naturalist informs us, that this species of the wild-ox, which was formerly very common in Europe, exists no where in that continent, but in these Lithuanian forests, in some parts of the Carpathian mountains, and perhaps in the Caucasus.

* Aristotle describes the horns of the *Bonafus* as γαμψα καὶ κεικασμένα πρὸς ἀλλήλας, "crooked and bending towards each other." A circumstance which seems to have puzzled some naturalists who have commented upon Aristotle, who did not consider that the figure of the horns varies exceedingly in the same species, in a wild or tame state,

and cannot be admitted as forming a specific difference. See Arist. Hist. Anim. L. IX. c. 45, also Camus Hist. des Animaux, cited in Maty's Review for April, 1783, p. 313, &c.

† Systema Naturæ. Buffon's Hist. Nat. Pennant's Hist. of Quad. p. 15.

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II

He agrees also with Buffon, in holding the *bison* or wild-ox of America to be only a variety of this *urus* changed by the climate*.

Lithuania is very rich in ornithology: among the birds of prey the eagle and vulture are very common. The *Remiz*† or little species of titmouse, called *Parus Pendulinus*, is not unfrequently found in these parts. The wondrous structure of its pendent nest induced me to give an engraving of both that and the birds themselves. They are of the smallest species of titmice. The head is of a very pale bluish ash colour; the forepart of the neck and the breast tinged with red; the belly white; wings black; back and rump of a yellowish rust colour; quill feathers cinereous, with the exterior sides white; the tail rust-coloured. The male is singularly distinguished from the female by a pair of black-pointed whiskers.

Its nest is in the shape of a long purse, which it forms with amazing art, by interweaving down, goss-a-mer, and minute fibres, in a close and compact manner, and then lining the inside with down alone, so as to make a snug and warm lodge for its young brood. The entrance is at the side, small and round, with its edge more strongly marked than the rest of this curious fabrick: the bird, attentive to the preservation of its eggs or little ones from noxious animals, suspends it at the lesser end to the extremity of the slender twigs of a willow, or some other tree, over a river. Contrary to the custom of titmice, it lays only four or five eggs: possibly Providence hath ordained this scantiness of eggs to the *Remiz*, because by the singular instinct imparted

* Sur le Buffle à Queue de cheval in Nov. Aft. Pet. 1771. Part II. p. 232, &c. Also in his Neue Nord. Beytrage, p. 2.

† I am indebted to that able naturalist, Mr. Pennant, for this description of the *Remiz*, and for the annexed plate.

to it, it is enabled to secure its young much more effectually from destruction, than the other species, which are very prolific. CHAP.
VI.

Mr. Gillibert acquainted me that a great quantity of yellow amber is frequently dug up in the Lithuanian forests, sometimes in pieces as large as one's fist, and that it is probably the production of a small resinous pine*. He informed me that the duchy abounds in iron ochre, called by Linnæus *Tophus humoso ochraceus*, and described by Wallerius † under the article of *Ferrum limosum*, which produces forty pounds of metal in an hundred weight; that it yields also several species of copper and iron pyrites; black agate, which always bears a resemblance to the roots of pines ‡; detached masses of red and grey granite; pudding stones, containing crystals of white quartz; the *echinus* agatized;

* Naturalists have long differed concerning the origin of amber. Some maintain it to be an animal substance; others class it among the minerals; some assert, that it is a vegetable oil united with a mineral acid; but the most common opinion seems to be that it is a fossil bitumen. A few, with Mr. Gillibert, held it to be the resinous juice of a pine hardened by age: this latter opinion was also maintained by the ancient Romans. Amber is most usually found upon the sea-coast, and though frequently discovered several feet beneath the surface of the ground, yet has been supposed to have never been dug up at any considerable distance from the sea; a circumstance which has led several naturalists to conjecture, that it owes, in a great measure, its production to the sea. But this hypothesis is confuted by the discovery of these large pieces of amber in the heart of the Lithuanian forests far from any sea. See Plin. Hist. Nat. L. 37. Sec. XI. Tacitus. de Mor. Germ. Macquaire's Chymistry, v. II. p. 206. Bishop of Landaff's (Dr. Warton) Essays on Chym. v. III. p. 12. and particularly Wallerius

Syst. Min. v. II. p. 115—117. where the reader will find a list of the principal naturalists, who have written upon Amber.

† Wallerius, Syst. Min. v. II. p. 255.

‡ Mr. Gillibert thus describes these agates in the acts of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. "Mr. Gillebert dans une lettre à Mr. le Professeur Pallas, parle d'une pétrification très remarquable, commune dans ce pays [Lithuania], laquelle est agathe par sa nature, mais ressemble parfaitement par sa forme, à des racines de sapins pétrifiées. Les racines agatifiées sont bandées de noir autour de leur axe, et incrustées d'une écorse grise ou blanchâtre. On en trouve à demi pétrifiées; et toutes donnent une odeur empyreumatique au feu, qui provient d'un reste de principe bitumineux. D'Ailleurs toutes les pétrifications d'origine marine se trouvent agatifiées dans ce pays couvert d'un sable fin, dont les eaux peuvent extraire un principe pétrifiant de cette nature." Nov. Act. Acad. Pet. for 1777, p. 45.

BOOK
II. a prodigious quantity of false precious stones, particularly amethysts, topazes, garnets, also chalcedonies, cornelians, milky agates, the *oculus catti*, or cat's eye, jaspers, and particularly the red species. He added, that Lithuania was extremely rich in marine petrefactions, and chiefly in those which are common in the Baltic: of these the madrepores are the most numerous, and amongst others the *Corallinum Gothlandicum* is not uncommon; which is described in the first volume of the *Amanitates Academicæ* † as extremely rare.

The next morning we visited the manufactures established by the king in 1776. They were carrying on in wooden sheds, built by Augustus III. for stables, which had been converted into temporary working looms, and dwelling houses for the accommodation of the manufacturers; the whole establishment was expected to be soon removed to Lossõna, a village near Grodno, where convenient buildings, constructing at his majesty's expence, were nearly finished for that purpose.

The principal manufactures are cloth and camlets, linen and cottons, silk stuffs, embroidery, silk stockings, hats, lace, fire arms, needles, cards, bleaching wax, and carriages. The country furnishes sufficient wool, flax, hemp, beavers hair, and wax for the supply of the manufactures which employ those commodities; but the silk, cotton, iron, colours, gold and silver for the embroidery, and fine thread from Brussels. for the lace, are imported.

The manufactures employ 3000 persons, including those dispersed in the contiguous villages, who spin linen and worsted thread. There are seventy foreigners, who direct the different branches; the rest are natives belonging to the king's demesnes.

The apprentices are boys and girls, all children of Polish peasants, who are clothed and fed, and have besides a small allowance in money. The directors complain that there is no emulation among them; and that, although they are better fed and clothed than the other peasants, yet they cannot excite them to industry by any other means than force. Nor is this a matter of wonder; for as they still continue in a state of servitude, if they acquire any unusual profit, and carry it to their parents, they are apprehensive lest it should be taken away; it having frequently happened, that any little pittance, they had gained by their labour, has been wrested from them, in order to pay the quit-rents which their parents owed to their lords. One of these apprentices, more shrewd than the rest, said to the director, who was trying to stimulate her industry, "What advantage shall I obtain if I follow your advice? let me become ever so skilful in my trade, I shall always continue subject to my master: the labour will be mine, and the profits his." To which observation no answer could be given. Most of them appeared with such a settled melancholy in their countenances, as made my heart ache to see them; and it was easy to perceive that they worked from compulsion, and not from inclination. As some remedy to this evil, it has been proposed, after a certain term of years, to give liberty to those who particularly excel, and distinguish themselves by any extraordinary exertions. But this humane proposal has been rejected, from a notion that such persons, when once made free, would no longer continue to work; and that by these means the manufactures would be deprived of their best hands. Though this inconvenience, however, might occasionally take place, yet the encouragement of such a regulation would beget alacrity and excite industry, and would therefore create a greater number.

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of artists than it would emancipate. It would now and then occasion the loss of a manufacturer ; but would diffuse such a knowledge of the manufacture, as to render the loss immaterial.

These manufactures are still in their infancy, but their institution reflects a considerable lustre upon his majesty's reign ; and more particularly as his attention was not withdrawn from them during the civil convulsions which so lately shook his throne.

On the first evening of our arrival at Grodno, a Polish nobleman, to whom we were introduced by Mr. Gillibert, invited us to supper with such frankness and cordiality, that it would have been rudeness not to have accepted the invitation. After an hour's conversation, he consigned us to the care of his wife, and retired ; nor did he again make his appearance the whole evening. This seeming inattention, so contrary to the politeness of the invitation, occasioned at first some surprize ; but we afterwards found that good manners equally directed his behaviour in both these instances. Having before our arrival invited some Polish gentlemen to sup with him who could not converse in French, and who drank freely, he thought justly enough that we should pass a more agreeable evening with the ladies. We had a small party at supper, which was cheerful and agreeable, for the Poles are a very lively people, and the women in general amiable and well-bred.

We dined the following day with Count Tyzenhausen vice-chancellor of Lithuania : it was an election-dinner previous to the dietine, which was to assemble at Grodno, in order to chuse the representatives of this district for the approaching diet. There were eighty nobles at table, all, a few excepted,

excepted, in their national dress, and with their heads shaved. CHAP. VI.
in the Polish fashion. Before dinner they saluted the count with great respect, some kissing the hem of his garment, others stooping down and embracing his legs. Two ladies were at table, and, as strangers, we had the post of honour assigned to us, and were seated by them. It was my good fortune to sit next to one who was uncommonly entertaining and agreeable, and never suffered the conversation to flag. After dinner several toasts went round :—the king of Poland—the diet—the ladies who were present—a good journey to us, &c. The master of the feast named the toast, filled a large glass, drank it, turned it down to shew that it was empty, and then passed it to his next neighbour; from whom it was circulated in succession and with the same ceremonies through the whole company. The wine was champagne, the glass large, and the toasts numerous : but there was no obligation, after the first round, to fill the glass ; it was only necessary to pour in a small quantity and pass the toast. As it is esteemed a kind of hospitality in Poland to circulate the wine freely among the guests, my fair neighbour, when it was my turn to drink her health, proposed that I should fill a bumper. Though I had already drank one in honour of his majesty, and would willingly have declined another, I could not disobey the orders of an agreeable woman, and did the same homage to beauty that I had before paid to royalty. The next turn was the health of the other lady, which my fair neighbour urged me to do justice to in the same manner ; but I excused myself by intimating, that she alone was deserving of such a tribute.

In the evening the count gave us a ball concluded by an elegant supper. The ball was lively and agreeable. The company amused themselves with Polish and English country-dances.

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 II. dances : the former was simple, but not deficient in grace, and was accompanied by a most pleasing air ; the company stood in pairs ; the first man led his partner round the room in a kind of step not much unlike that of a minuet, he then quitted her hand, made a small circle, joined hands again, and repeated the same movements until the conclusion. The second couple began as soon as the first had advanced a few steps, and was quickly followed by the remainder, so that all the parties glided after one another at the same time. The Poles are very fond of this dance : although it has little variety, they continued it for half an hour without intermission, and frequently renewed it during the course of the evening. The intervals between this national dance were filled with English country-dances, which they performed with equal expertness, and with no less delight. An elegant supper, to which only a select party was invited, agreeably concluded the entertainment of the day.

The count politely pressed us to continue sometime at Grodno, and to take up our abode in his house ; but as we were desirous of arriving at Petersburg before the commencement of the winter, we declined the invitation, which we should otherwise have accepted with the greatest pleasure. Some of the company, however, had kindly endeavoured to detain us by the following stratagem : they privately desired the coach-maker employed in mending our carriage to execute the commission in a dilatory manner ; and although we had accidentally discovered this project, yet it was not without the most urgent remonstrances that we obtained the necessary repairs. In order to spare our acquaintance the trouble of making, and ourselves the pain of rejecting, any further solicitations, we thought it most expedient to steal away in the night without apprising any one of our design.

It was our intention to have proceed to Vilna, but as this was the time of electing nuntios, the postmaster informed us, that for want of horses we should be delayed upon the road at some wretched village without a possibility of proceeding; we therefore, very unwillingly, altered our route, to our great disappointment, as we wished much to have visited the capital of Lithuania.

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C H A P. VII.

Continuation of the tour through the duchy of Lithuania.—

Number of Jews.—Badness of the roads and want of accommodations.—Close of the dietine at Minsk.—Poverty and wretchedness of the natives.—Comparative view of the Swiss and Polish peasants.—Remarks on the Plica Polonica.

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IN our route through Lithuania we could not avoid being struck with the swarms of Jews, who, though very numerous in every part of Poland, seem to have fixed their head-quarters in this duchy. If you ask for an interpreter, they bring you a Jew; if you come to an inn, the landlord is a Jew; if you want post-horses, a Jew procures them, and a Jew drives them; if you wish to purchase, a Jew is your agent: and this perhaps is the only country in Europe where Jews cultivate the ground: in passing through Lithuania, we frequently saw them engaged in sowing, reaping, mowing, and other works of Husbandry.

The roads in this country are quite neglected, being scarcely superior to by-paths winding through the thick forest without the least degree of artificial direction: they are frequently so narrow as scarcely to admit a carriage; and are continually so obstructed by stumps and roots of trees, and in many parts so exceedingly sandy, that eight small horses could scarcely drag us along. The postilions were frequently boys of ten or twelve years of age, hardy lads, who rode

posts.

posts of twenty and even thirty English miles without a saddle, and with scarcely any covering except a shirt and a pair of linen drawers. The bridges across the rivulets were so weakly constructed and so old, that they seemed ready to crack with the weight of the carriage, and we thought ourselves fortunate in getting over them without an accident. CHAP.
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Some travellers have remarked, that the forests, through which our route lay, are set on fire by lightning or other natural causes, and blaze for a considerable time. At first we conceived this representation to be well-founded, as we discovered in many parts evident traces of extensive conflagrations. Upon inquiry, however, we were informed, that the peasants, being obliged annually to furnish their landlords with a certain quantity of turpentine, set fire to the trunks of the pines while standing, and catch it as it oozes from the stems. We could observe few trees without marks of fire upon them; some were quite black, and nearly charred to cinder; some half-burnt; others considerably scorched, but continuing to vegetate.

August 15. After twenty hours incessant travelling we arrived late in the evening at Bielitza, which is distant about ninety English miles from Grodno; and sat out before the break of day, anxious to reach Minsk on the morning of the 17th, when a dietine for the election of nuntios was to be assembled. We stopped a short time at Novogrodec, which is all built of wood, except two or three ruinous brick-houses, a convent that belonged to the Jesuits, and some mouldering stone-walls surrounding a small eminence, upon which are the remains of an old citadel. Near Novogrodec we passed a large number of barrows, which the peasants call Swedish burying-places. In this part the country was less sandy, of a richer soil, and somewhat diversified with hill and

BOOK II. dale : the solitary extent of the forests was more than usual interspersed with villages, and dotted with fields of pasture, in which we observed numerous herds of cattle.

Upon our arrival at the small village of Mir, we found that our original intention of reaching Minsk by the next morning was scarcely practicable, even if we continued our journey during the night. The distance was between sixty and seventy miles ; the night extremely dark ; the roads bad, and, we were informed, that in some places we should be obliged to cross several bridges not very passable even in the day without the utmost circumspection. Our desire therefore of being present at the election of nuntios gave way to these suggestions ; and we sacrificed the gratification of our curiosity to the considerations of personal safety. The pleasures of Mir certainly offered no inducement for delay : the poverty of the inhabitants denied a scanty supply of the most ordinary refreshments ; the highest entertainment which the place afforded being a suspension of the dangers of travelling, and the sum of our comforts an intermission of fatigue.

The badness of our accommodations at Mir led us to consider Minsk (where we arrived on the evening of the 17th) as the seat of taste and luxury. We there experienced comforts to which we had lately been strangers, a neat white-washed room with a brick floor, no fleas or flies, plenty of clean straw, good bread, and fresh meat. After a refreshing night's rest, we sallied forth the next morning to the refectory of the Jesuits monastery, the place where the nuntios had been chosen the preceding day. We had some difficulty in gaining admittance ; at length a person, who appeared to be a man of consequence, came out and inquired in the German language our country and our business.

Upon

Upon our answering that we were three English gentlemen, desirous of seeing every thing worthy of observation, CHAP.
VII. he expressed much surprize at the plainness of our dresses, particularly at our want of swords. "In Poland," he said, "every gentleman wears his sabre as a badge of his rank, never appearing in public without it; and I advise you to observe this custom as long as you continue in this country, if you wish to be considered as gentlemen." Thanking him for his advice, we accompanied him into the refectory, where we found the majority of the dietine still assembled, though not upon national business; in plain English, they were engaged in drinking, a no less essential appendage of a Polish than a British election. One person, whom they seemed to treat with deference, was constantly employed in delivering drams to the electors, who were standing in different parts of the room: many ceremonies passed at every circulation of the glass; they touched their breasts, stooped towards the ground, and drank the nuntios' and each other's health with great solemnity. Several of the Polish gentlemen conversed with me in the Latin tongue: they informed me, that every palatinate is divided into a certain number of districts, and that each district chuses two nuntios. I asked them whether the election of the district of Minsk had been contested; they told me, that three candidates had offered themselves. I then demanded whether the elected nuntios were of the king's party; and they answered, "We have in this instance complied with his majesty's recommendation."—"You have acted," I replied, "with great propriety: is he not a good prince?"—"A good prince!" returned the Poles, "yes, the most excellent that ever filled a throne."

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Minfk is a large place: two churches and the monastery which belonged to the Jefuits are conftituted of brick; and the remaining buildings, though formed of wood, have a neater look than the generality of dwellings in this country. On returning to our inn, we received an invitation to dinner from a Polish count; but as the weather appeared fine, as our carriage was at the door, and all things prepared for our immediate departure, we determined to give up an opportunity of focial enjoyment to the expediency of purfuing our journey.

Auguft 18. We were confiderably fatigued with our journey from Minfk to Smolewitzo, which, though fcarcely thirty miles, employed us, on account of the badnefs of the roads and other unexpected delays, near twelve hours. The weather was cold and rainy, the wind high, the roads worfe than ufual; and the evening, when it fat in, extremely dark. We were almoft beginning to defpair of reaching our deftined ftation, when a noife of folding doors thrown open, and the rattling of our carriage upon a wooden floor, announced our actual arrival. The leathern blinds of our carriage having been clofely faftened down, in order to exclude the wind and rain, we were for a few moments held in fufpenfe into what kind of place we were admitted. Upon alighting, we found ourfelves in the middle of a large barn or fhed, at the further end of which we defcried two large pines, branches and all, in full blaze upon an hearth without a chimney: round it feveral figures, in full black robes and with long beards, were employed in ftirring a large cauldron fufpended over the flame. A belief in witchcraft, or a little fuperftition, might eafily have reprefented this party as a group of magicians engaged in celebrating fome myftic rites; but, upon nearer infpection, we recognized in them

them our old friends the Jews, preparing their and our evening repast.

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We sat out the next morning before day-break, as was our usual custom, having no inducement to remain any longer than was absolutely necessary in these hovels, abounding in vermin, and in which filth and wretchedness are united. Near Borisow we crossed the Berezyna, which has been erroneously laid down by some modern geographers, as forming the new boundary between Russia and Poland; and on the other side of the town passed a camp of 2000 Russian troops, who were marching to Warsaw.

At Borisow the Jews procured us ten horses, and placed them all in two rows, six next the carriage, and four in front*. There was indeed much ingenuity in contriving this arrangement, which was effected in the following manner. The two middle horses in the hinder row were harnessed as usual to the splinter-bars, their two nearest neighbours were fastened to the extremities of the axle-tree, which projected considerably on each side beyond the boxes of the fore-wheels, and the two outermost were tied in the same manner, by means of long ropes, to the axle-tree of the hind-wheels: the four horses in front were harnessed to the pole and to the splinter-bars of the pole. Well assured that horses, ranged in this primitive manner, would require more room than the narrow roads of Poland generally afforded, we endeavoured to persuade the drivers to place them two by two; but such was their obstinacy or want of comprehension, we could not prevail upon them to make any alteration. We therefore unloosed two horses from the hindermost row, and

* The usual method of harnessing was by placing four a-breast, and two in the foremost row.

for

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H. for that permission were obliged to compound for leaving the remaining eight in their original position.

In this manner we proceeded; and still found great difficulty in forcing our way through the wilderness, which was so overgrown with thick underwood, as in many parts scarcely to admit the breadth of an ordinary carriage. In some places we were obliged to take off two, in others four of the horses; and not uncommonly alighted, in order to assist the drivers and servants in removing fallen trees which obstructed the way, in directing the horses through the winding paths, and in finding a new track along the almost impenetrable forest. We thought ourselves exceedingly fortunate, that our carriage was not shaken to pieces, and that we were not frequently overturned.

In various parts of the forest, we observed a circular range of boards fixed to several trees about twelve feet from the ground, and projecting three in breadth from the trunk. Upon inquiry we were informed, that upon any great hunting party, ladders were placed against these scaffoldings; and that when any person is closely pressed by a bear, he runs up the ladder, and draws it up after him: the bear, although an excellent climber, is stopped in his ascent by the projection of the boards.

We were very happy at length to reach Naitza, although we took up our station in one of the most wretched of all the wretched cottages we had yet entered. The only article of furniture it afforded was a small table, and the only utensil a broken earthen pot, in which our repast was prepared, and which served us also for dishes and plates. We eat our meagre fare by the light of a thin lath of deal, about five feet in length, which was stuck into a crevice of the wainscot, and hung over the table: this lath, thanks to the turpentine

pentine contained in it, served us instead of a candle, of which there was not one to be found in the whole village of Naitza. It is surprizing, that the careless method of using these lights is not oftener attended with more dreadful effects; for the cottagers carry them about the house with such little caution, that we frequently observed sparks to drop from them upon the straw which was prepared for our beds: nor were we able, by the strongest expressions of fear, to awaken in them the slightest degree of circumspection. For some time after coming into this country, we used to start up with no small emotion in order to extinguish the sparks; but, such is the irresistible influence of custom, we became at last ourselves perfectly insensible to the danger of this practice, and caught all the indifference of the natives. I once even so far forgot myself as to hold a lighted stick for a considerable time over an heap of straw, while I was negligently searching for some trifle. This supineness, which I so easily acquired in this particular, convinced me (if I may compare small things with great), that I could live with the inhabitants at the foot of Mount Vesuvius without dread of an eruption; or sit unconcerned with the natives of Constantinople amid the devastations of the plague.

It is inconceivable how few are the wants of the Lithuanian peasants! Their carts are put together without iron; their bridles and traces are generally plaited from the bark of trees, or composed merely of twisted branches. They have no other instrument but a hatchet, to construct their huts, cut out their furniture, and make their carts. Their dress is a thick linen shirt and drawers, a long coarse drugget coat, or a sheepskin cloak, a round black felt cap lined with wool, and shoes made from the bark of trees. Their huts are built of trunks of trees heaped on each other,

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and look like piles of wood in wharfs with penthouse roofs. How very unlike the Swiss cottages, though constructed of the same materials. Nor are their houses more dissimilar than their manners. The striking difference between the Swiss and Polish peasants, in their very air and deportment, strongly marks the contrast of their respective governments. The Swiss are open, frank, rough, but ready to serve you; they nod their heads, or slightly pull off their hats as you pass by, but expect a return of civility: they are roused by the least rudeness, and are not to be insulted with impunity. On the contrary, the Polish peasants are cringing and servile in their expressions of respect: they bowed down to the ground; took off their hats or caps, and held them in their hands till we were out of sight; stopped their carts on the first glimpse of our carriage; in short, their whole behaviour gave evident symptoms of the abject servitude under which they groaned. Yet liberty is as often the subject of encomium in Poland as in Switzerland: how different, however, are its operations in the two countries! In the one it is equally diffused, and spreads comfort and happiness through the whole community: in the other it centers in a few, and is in reality the worst species of despotism.

Before I close my account of Poland, I shall just cursorily mention, that in our progress through this country we could not fail observing several persons with matted or clotted hair, which constitutes a disorder called *Plica Polonica*: it receives that denomination because it is considered as peculiar to Poland; although it is not unfrequent in Hungary, Tartary, and several adjacent nations, and instances of it are occasionally to be found in other countries.

According to the observations of Dr. Vicat, an ingenious Swiss physician long resident in Poland, and who has published

lished a satisfactory treatise * upon this subject; the *Plica Polonica* is supposed to proceed from an acrid viscus humour penetrating into the hair, which is tubular †: it then exudes either from its sides or extremities, and clots the whole together, either in separate folds, or in one undistinguished mass. Its symptoms, more or less violent, according to the constitution of the patient, or malignity of the disease, are itchings, swellings, eruptions, ulcers, intermitting fevers, pains in the head, languor, lowness of spirits, rheumatism, gout, and sometimes even convulsions, palsy, and madness. These symptoms gradually decrease as the hair becomes affected. If the patient is shaved in the head, he relapses into all the dreadful complaints which preceded the eruption of the *Plica*; and he continues to labour under them, until a fresh growth of hair absorbs the acrid humour. This disorder is thought hereditary; and is proved to be contagious when in a virulent state.

Many physical causes have been supposed to concur in rendering the *Plica* more frequent in these regions than in other parts: it would be an endless work to enumerate the various conjectures with which each person has supported his favourite hypothesis: the most probable are those assigned by Dr. Vicat.

The first cause is the nature of the Polish air, which is rendered insalubrious by numerous woods and morasses; and occasionally derives an uncommon keenness even in the

* Memoire sur la Plique Polonoise.

† The dilatation of the hair is sometimes so considerable as to admit small globules of blood; this circumstance, which however

very rarely happens, has probably given rise to the notion, that the patient, if his hair is cut off, bleeds to death.

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midst of summer from the position of the Carpathian mountains; for the southern and south-easterly winds, which usually convey warmth in other regions, are in this chilled in their passage over their snowy summits.

The second is unwholesome water; for although Poland is not deficient in good springs, yet the common people usually drink that which is nearest at hand, taken indiscriminately from rivers, lakes, and even stagnant pools.

The third cause is the gross inattention of the natives to cleanliness; for experience shews, that those who are negligent in their persons and habitations, are less liable to be afflicted with the plica, than others who are deficient in that particular. Thus persons of higher rank are less subject to this disorder than those of inferior stations; the inhabitants of large towns than those of small villages; the free peasants than those in an absolute state of vassalage; the natives of Poland Proper than those of Lithuania.

Whatever we may determine as to the possibility that all, or any of these causes, by themselves, or in conjunction with others, originally produced the disorder; we may venture to assert, that they all, and particularly the last, assist its propagation, inflame its symptoms, and protract its cure.

In a word, the *Plica Polonica* appears to be a contagious distemper; which, like the leprosy, still prevails among a people ignorant in medicine, and inattentive to check its progress; but is rarely known in those countries, where proper precautions are taken to prevent its spreading.

T R A V E L S

I N T O

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T R A V E L S
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B O O K I I I.

C H A P. I.

Entrance into Russia.—Limits and account of the province dismembered from Poland.—Cheapness of the post.—Journey to Smolensko.—History and description of Smolensko.—Divine service in the cathedral.—Visit to the bishop.—Dinner with a judge.—Journey to Moscow.—Peasants.—Their dress, cottages, food, &c.

AUGUST 20. We came into Russia at the small village of Tolotzin, which in 1772 belonged to Poland, but is ^{CHAP. I.} now comprised in the portion of country ceded to the empress by the late partition treaty. The province allotted to Russia comprises Polish Livonia, that part of the palatinate of Polotsk which lies to the east of the Duna; the palatinates of Vitepsk, Micislav, and two small portions to the north-

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III. north-east and south-east of the palatinate of Minsk : this tract of land (Polish Livonia excepted) is situated in White-Russia, and includes at least one third of Lithuania.

The Russian limits of the new province are formed by the Duna, from its mouth to above Vitepsk, from thence by a straight line running directly south to the source of the Drug near Tolitzin, by the Drug to its junction with the Dnieper, and lastly, by the Dnieper to the point where it receives the Sotz. This territory is now divided into the two governments of Polotsk and Mohilef ; its population amounts to about 1,600,000 souls ; its productions are chiefly grain in large quantities, hemp, flax, and pasture ; its forests furnish great abundance of masts, planks, also oak for ship building, pitch and tar, &c. which are chiefly sent down the Duna to Riga.

Upon entering Russia at Tolitzin we were greatly astonished at the cheapness of the post-horses ; and when our servant had discharged the first account, which amounted to only two copecs, or about a penny, a verst * for each horse, we should have concluded, that he had cheated the post-master in our favour, if we had not been well convinced, from the general character of the Russians, that they were not likely to be duped by strangers. Indeed we soon afterwards discovered, that even half of the charge, which we thought so extremely moderate, might have been saved, if we had taken the precaution of obtaining an order from the Russian ambassador at Warsaw.

From Tolotzin, through the new government of Mohilef, the road was excellent, and of considerable breadth, with a double row of trees planted on each side, and ditches to drain

* Three quarters of a mile.

off the water. We passed through several wretched villages, ferried at Orsa over the Dnieper, there only a small river, went through Dubroffna, and arrived in the evening at Lady. The country from Tolitzin to Lady is waving and somewhat hilly, abounds in forest, and produces corn, millet, hemp, and flax. In the largest villages we observed schools and other buildings, constructing at the expence of the empress, and also churches with domes, intended for the Polish diffidents of the Greek sect, and the Russians who chuse to settle in the country.

Lady is situated in the government of Smolensko, and, before the late dismemberment, was one of the Russian frontier towns: we took up our quarters at the post-house, where we procured a very comfortable apartment. These post-houses, which frequently occur in the principal high-roads of Russia, are mostly constructed upon the same plan, and are very convenient for the accommodation of travellers: they are large square wooden buildings, enclosing a spacious court-yard; in the center of the front is a range of apartments intended for the reception of travellers, with a gateway on each side leading into the court-yard; the remainder of the front is appropriated to the use of the post-master and his servants; the other three sides of the quadrangle are divided into stables and sheds for carriages, and large barns for hay and corn. We were agreeably surprized to meet with, in this remote place, some English strong beer; and no less pleased to see our supper served up in dishes of our countryman Wedgewood's cream-coloured ware. The luxury of clean straw for our beds was no small addition to these comforts.

Upon calling for our bill in the morning, we found our charge as reasonable as the entertainment was good. The

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satisfaction we expressed at our reception, perhaps, induced the secretary (as the post-master himself was absent) to think us proper subjects of imposition. The distance to the next station was about ten miles, and the secretary demanded three times the sum allowed by the public regulations, under pretence of our not being provided with an order for post-horses. We hinted some surprize at this charge: this intimation, though conveyed in the mildest terms, the secretary thought proper to answer with expressions of contempt and defiance; he ordered the horses again into the stable, and declared we should not stir from the place until we discharged the full sum. Though we might easily have been prevailed upon by the slightest apology to have submitted to the fraud, we determined to chastise his insolence. We repaired to the director of the custom-house, and were immediately admitted: to our great satisfaction he spoke German; and after we had laid our case before him, he told us, that the Russian had demanded treble the sum he was intitled to; he assured us, that we should receive instant redress, and that the offender should be punished for his imposition. Having dispatched a messenger, to whom he whispered a private order, he desired us to wait his return, and offered us coffee. While we were drinking it, he gave us various information relative to the Russian posts; added several hints, which afterwards proved singularly useful; and he particularly cautioned us to procure an order for horses from the governor of Smolenko. In the midst of this conversation we heard a carriage drive to the door, which we perceived to be our own, with all things ready for our immediate departure: our old friend, the post-master's secretary, made at the same time his appearance in a very submissive attitude; we interceded with the director for his back, and obtained a promise that he should not be beat;

but

but only reprimanded. After making those acknowledgements to our friendly director which were due to his politeness, we took our leave, and proceeded on our journey. CHAP.
I.

We were much chagrined at finding that the excellent new road lately described terminated at Lady: it was some satisfaction, however, that the remaining parts from thence to Smolensko proved far superior to those we had encountered in the Lithuanian forests. The villages were an exact counterpart to those we had left behind, and exhibited scarcely any thing more than a repetition of scenes already detailed.

The Russians differ widely in their appearance and dress from the Polish peasants. The most striking contrast arises from their method of wearing their hair: the Poles shave their heads, leaving only a small tuft upon the crown; while the others suffer their hair to hang quite down to the eyebrows and over the ears, and cut it short round the neck. The country was undulating and hilly, and more open than usual until we arrived within a few miles of Smolensko, when we plunged into a thick forest, which continued almost to the gates of that town without the intervention of a single village, or scarcely of a single cottage.

In 1403 the town of Smolensko, which belonged to the Russians, was besieged and taken by Vitoldus, and, together with the whole province, united to the duchy of Lithuania*. During the constant and inveterate enmities which subsisted between the Russians and Poles, Smolensko was a place of great importance; though only fortified according to the custom of the time, partly with ramparts of earth and ditches, and partly with pallisadoes, and a wooden citadel†;

* Dlugossius, Lib. X. p. 104. et seq.

† Rerum Mosc. Auc. p. 52. Mayerberg Iter Mosc. p. 74.

BOOK III. these fortifications were, however, sufficiently strong to resist the desultory attacks of undisciplined troops, and it was at different intervals ineffectually besieged until the beginning of the 16th century, when Vassili Ivanovitch great-duke of Moscovy got possession of it, by corrupting the garrison. It continued in the hands of the Russians for above a century, in the same simple style of defence. At length the importance of its situation near the frontiers of Poland, and the improvements in the art of war, induced Boris Godunof, prime minister, and brother-in-law of the czar Feodor Ivanovitch, to surround it with a wall: he came in person to Smolensko, and himself assisted in tracing out the site of the fortifications, which he lived to see completed in his own reign*, and which are the same that subsist at present. These additional fortifications, however, did not prevent Sigismund III. king of Poland, from besieging and taking the town in 1611; and by the truce of Develina in 1618, the possession was confirmed to Poland. In 1654 it was again reduced by Alexey Michaelovitch; and in 1686 finally ceded to Russia at the peace of Moscow †.

Smolensko, though by no means the most magnificent, is by far the most singular town I have ever seen. It is situated upon the river Dnieper, and stands upon two hills, and upon the valley which lies between them. It is surrounded by walls thirty feet high and fifteen thick, with the lower part of stone, and the upper of brick: these walls, which follow the shape of the hills, and enclose a circumference of seven versts ‡, have, at every angle, round or square towers of two or three stories, much broader at top than at bottom, and covered with circular roofs of wood. The intervals are

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 94. Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. I. p. 46.

† Lengnich, v. I. p. 47.

‡ Four miles and three-quarters.

studded with smaller turrets; on the outside of the wall is a broad deep ditch, regular covered way with traverses, glacis, &c. and where the ground is highest there are redoubts of earth according to the modern style of fortification. In the middle of the town is an eminence, upon which stands the cathedral; from whence I had a most picturesque view of the town, interspersed within the circuit of the walls with gardens, groves, copses, fields of pasture, and corn. The buildings are mostly wooden, of one story (many of them no better than cottages) excepting here and there a gentleman's house, which is called a palace, and several churches, constructed of brick and stuccoed. One long broad street, which is paved, intersects the whole length of the town in a straight line; the other streets generally wind in circular directions, and are floored with planks. The walls stretching over the uneven sides of the hills till they reach the banks of the Dnieper, their antient style of architecture, their grotesque towers, the spires of churches shooting above the trees, which are so numerous as almost to conceal the buildings from view, the appearance of meadows and the arable ground, all these objects blended together exhibit a scene of the most singular and contrasted kind. On the further side of the Dnieper are a number of straggling wooden houses that form the suburbs of the town, and are joined to it by a wooden bridge. As far as I could collect from vague information, this town contains about 4,000 inhabitants: it has no manufactures; but carries on some commerce with the Ukraine, Dantzic, and Riga. The principal articles of its trade are flax, hemp, honey, wax, hides, hogs bristles, masts, planks, and Siberian furs.

The Dnieper rises in the forest of Volkonski, near the source of the Volga, about 100 miles from Smolenko. It

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passes by Smolensko and Mohilef, separates the Ukraine from Poland, flows by Kiof, and falls into the black-sea between Otzakof and Kinburn. By the acquisition of the province of Mohilef, its whole course is now included within the Russian territories. It begins to be navigable at a little distance above Smolensko, though in some seasons of the year it is so shallow near the town, that the goods must be transported upon rafts and small flat-bottomed boats.

Having occasion for a new passport and an order for horses, we called upon the governor, accompanied by a Russian student, who spoke Latin, for our interpreter. The governor being at church, we repaired to the cathedral, where we waited until divine service was concluded. The cathedral is a stately building, erected upon the spot where formerly stood the palace of the ancient dukes of Smolensko. The inside walls are covered with coarse paintings representing our Saviour, the Virgin, and a variety of Saints, which are very abundant in the Greek religion. The shrine, or sanctuary, into which only the priests are admitted, is separated from the body of the church by a screen with large folding doors, and is ornamented with twisted pillars of the Corinthian order richly carved and gilded. The worship seemed to consist of innumerable ceremonies: the people crossed themselves without ceasing; bowed towards the shrine and to each other, and even touched the ground with their heads. The bishop of Smolensko performed the service; a venerable figure, with white flowing hair and long beard; he had a crown upon his head, and was dressed in rich episcopal robes. The folding doors were occasionally opened and closed with great pomp and solemnity whenever the bishop retired within, or came forth to bless the people: at the conclusion of the service, the doors being thrown open, the

the bishop advanced forward with a candlestick in each hand, CHAP.
I. one containing three, and the other two lighted candles; which he repeatedly crossed over each other in different directions; then waving them towards the audience, he concluded with a final benediction. These candlesticks, as I am informed, are symbolical; one alludes to the Trinity, and the other to the two natures of Christ.

The service being finished, we presented ourselves to the governor, who, to our surprise, received us with an air of coldness, which made such an impression on our interpreter, that he could not be persuaded to utter a single word. At length a gentleman in the governor's train accosted us in French, and inquired our business. Upon our informing him, that we were English gentlemen who desired a passport, and an order for horses, he told us with a smile, that the plainness of our dresses had raised a suspicion of our being tradesmen; but he was not ignorant that English gentlemen seldom wore lace on their clothes, or swords in a journey; an intimation which recalled to our memory the advice of our Polish friend at Minsk *. He then whispered the governor, who instantly assumed an appearance of complacency, and testified by his gesture an intention of complying with his request. This matter was scarcely adjusted, when the bishop joined the company; he had laid aside the costly garments, in which he performed the service, and was dressed in a long black robe, a round black cap, and veil of the same colour. He addressed us in Latin, and invited us to his house. He led the way, and we followed with the rest of the company to a commodious wooden building adjoining to the cathedral. Upon entering the apartment the governor and Russian gentlemen kissed his hand with great marks of

* P. 229.

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respect. After desiring all the company to sit, he distinguished us by particular attention, and observed, with much politeness, that our company gave him greater pleasure, as he had never, since his residence at Smolensko, received a visit from any Englishman, for whose nation he had the highest respect. During this conversation a servant spread a cloth upon a small table, and placed upon it a plate of bread, some salt, and some flowers: another followed with a salver of small glasses full of a transparent liquor; the bishop blessed the bread and the salver with great solemnity, and then took a glass: we thought it at first a religious ceremony; but were undeceived by the servants offering the bread and salver to us as well as the other persons present. Every one being served, the bishop drank all our healths, a compliment which the company returned with a bow, and instantly emptied their glasses; we followed this example, and found the draught to be a dram of cherry-water. This preliminary being settled, we resumed our conversation with the bishop, and asked him several questions relative to the ancient state of Smolensko. He answered every enquiry with great readiness; gave us a concise account of the state of the town under its antient dukes, and informed us that their palace was situated on the spot now occupied by the cathedral, which was built by Feodor Michaelovitch brother of Peter the Great, and had been lately repaired and beautified. After about half an hour's agreeable conversation, we rose up and took our leave, greatly pleased with the politeness and affability of the bishop.

Our interpreter, who was one of the students, conducted us to the seminary, which is appropriated for the education of the clergy, in which the Latin, Greek, German, and Polish

lish languages are taught: the priest who shewed us the library talked Latin; he introduced us into his chamber, and, according to the hospitable custom of this country, offered us some refreshment, which consisted of cakes and mead. CHAP.
I.

In the afternoon the Russian gentleman, who so obligingly relieved us from our embarrassment before the governor, kindly paid us a visit, and invited us to dine with him the following day. We accepted his invitation, and waited upon him at two, the usual hour of dining: he was a judge, and lived in a wooden house provided by the court; the rooms were small, but neatly furnished. The company consisted of that gentleman, his wife and sister, all of whom talked French: the ladies were dressed in the French fashion, and had on a good deal of rouge: they do not curtsy; but their mode of salute is to bow their heads very low. Before dinner *liqueurs* were handed about; the ladies each took a small glass, and recommended the same to us as favourable to digestion. The table was neatly set out, the dinner excellent, and served up in English cream-coloured ware: beside plain roast and boiled meats, several Russian dishes were introduced; one of these was a kind of sallad composed of mushrooms and onions; and another the grain of green corn, baked and moistened with sweet oil. Before we rose from table our host called for a large glass; he filled a bumper of champagne, drank it off to our health, and then handed the glass round. "This is an old custom," said the judge, "and was meant as an expression of regard; the age is now grown delicate, and the free effusions of hospitality must be suppressed in ceremony: but I am an old-fashioned man, and cannot easily relinquish the habits of my youth." After dinner we adjourned to another room, and played two or three rubbers of whist. Coffee and tea were brought in,

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and a plate of sweet-meats was handed round to the company. About six we took leave of our friendly host, and returned to our inn, if it may be called by that honourable appellation. This inn, which was the best, for it was the only one in the town, was a wooden building, in a very ruinous state, formerly painted on the outside. The apartment which we occupied had once been hung with paper, as appeared from some torn fragments that here and there covered a small portion of the wainscot, which was a patch-work of old and new planks. Its furniture was two benches and as many chairs; of the latter, one was without a bottom; and the other without a back; the only table was an old deal box. We were inclined to conjecture there was a heavy tax upon air and light in this country; for all the windows were nailed up with planks, except one, which could not be opened, and it could scarcely be seen through, on account of the dirt with which it was incrusted. In the inventory of these valuables I should not omit a couch upon which I slept: it had been so often mended, that, like Sir John Cutler's stockings, immortalized in *Martinus Scriblerus*, we could not distinguish any part of the original materials. It may perhaps appear surprizing, that in a town like Smolensko there should be no tolerable inn; but the surprize will cease, when we reflect that few strangers pass this way; and that the Russians themselves carry their provisions with them, and either continue their journey through the night, or are received in private houses.

August 25. We quitted Smolensko, crossed the Dnieper over a wooden bridge into the suburbs, and pursued our journey for some way through a valley of fine pasture watered by the Dnieper, spotted with underwood, and terminating on each side in gentle eminences clothed with wood.

As we advanced, the country became more abrupt and uneven, but no where rose into any considerable hill. Near Slovoda a large straggling village, where we stopped for a few hours during the darkness of the night, we again crossed the Dnieper upon a raft formed of trunks of trees tied together with cords, and scarcely large enough to receive the carriage, which sunk it some inches under water; this machine was then pushed from the banks until it met another of the same kind, to which the horses stepped with great difficulty; and the distance of the two rafts from each other was so considerable, that the carriage could scarcely be prevented from slipping between them and sinking into the river.

The second post from this primitive ferry was Dogorobush, built upon a rising hill, and exhibiting, like Smolensko, though upon a lesser scale, an intermixture of churches, houses, cottages, corn-fields, and meadows; some of the houses, which had been lately constructed at the empresses expence, were of brick covered with stucco, and had the appearance of so many palaces when contrasted with the meanness of the surrounding hovels. This place was formerly a strong fortress, and frequently besieged during the wars between Russia and Poland: the ramparts and ditches of the antient citadel still remain; from them we commanded an extensive view of the adjacent country, which was a large plain watered by the winding Dnieper, and bounded by distant hills. From Dogorobush we proceeded about 24 miles to a small village called Zaratesh, where we thought ourselves very fortunate in being housed for the night in a tolerable hut, which afforded us a rare instance of accommodation in these parts, a room separate from that used by the family. Our hostess was a true Asiatic figure :

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she had on a blue garment without sleeves, which descended to the ankles, and was tied round the waist with a red sash ; she wore a white piece of linen wrapped round her head like a turban, ear-rings, and necklace of variegated beads ; her shoes were fastened with blue strings, which were also bound round the ankles, in order to keep up the coarse linen wrappers which served for stockings.

August 27. Our route the next morning, from Zaratesh to Viasma, lay through a continuity of forest, occasionally relieved by the intervention of pastures and corn-fields. When we reflected that we were in the 55th degree of northern latitude, we were surprized at the forwardness of the harvest : the wheat and barley were already carried in, and the peasants were employed in cutting the oats and millet. Since our departure from Smolensko the weather had proved remarkably cold, and the wind had the keenness of a November blast : the peasants were all clothed in their sheepskins, or winter dresses.

At a small distance from Viasma we passed the rivulet of the same name, navigable only for rafts, which descend its stream into the Dnieper : we then mounted a small eminence, on the top whereof stands the town, making a magnificent appearance with the domes and spires of several churches rising above the trees. Viasma spreads, in a broken disjointed manner, over a large extent of ground : its buildings are mostly of wood, a few houses of brick excepted, which had lately been erected by the munificence of the empress. Part of the principal street is formed, like the Russian roads, of the trunks of trees laid cross-ways, and part is boarded with planks like the floor of a room. It contains above twenty churches, an astonishing number for a place but thinly inhabited. The churches in these small

towns

towns and villages are mostly ornamented with a cupola and several domes: the outside walls are either white-washed or painted red, and the cupolas or domes are generally of a different colour from the other parts. At some distance the number of spires and domes rising above the trees, which conceal the contiguous hovels from view, would lead a traveller unacquainted with the country to expect a large city in a place, where perhaps, upon nearer inspection, he will only find a collection of wooden huts.

At Viasma was concluded, in 1634, the treaty of perpetual peace between Ladislaus IV. king of Poland, and Michael Feodorovitch: by this treaty Michael confirmed the cession of Smolensko, Severia, and Tchernichef, which had been yielded to the Poles at the truce of Develina; while Ladislaus renounced the title of Tzar, and acknowledged Michael as the rightful sovereign of Russia*. On this occasion both monarchs relinquished what they did not possess; and wisely sacrificed imaginary pretensions to the attainment of a substantial peace.

The Russian peasants appeared in general a large coarse hardy race, and of great bodily strength. Their dress is a round hat or cap with a very high crown, a coarse robe of drugget (or in winter of sheep-skin with the wool turned inwards) reaching below the knee, and bound round the waist by a sash, trowsers, of linen almost as thick as sackcloth, a woollen or flannel cloth wrapped round the leg instead of stockings; sandals woven from strips of a pliant bark, and fastened by strings of the same materials, which are afterwards twined round the leg, and serve as garters to the woollen or flannel wrappers. In warm weather the

* Lengnich, Hist. Pol. p. 167.

peasants frequently wear only a short, coarse shirt and trowfers.

Their cottages are constructed in the same manner as those of Lithuania, but they are larger, and somewhat better provided with furniture and domestic utensils; they are of a square shape, and are formed of whole trees piled upon another, and secured at the four corners where their extremities meet, with mortaises and tenons. The interstices between these piles are filled up with moss. Within the house the timbers are smoothed with the axe, so as to form the appearance of wainscot; but without are left with the bark in their rude state. The roofs are in the penthouse form, generally composed of the bark of trees or shingles, which are sometimes covered with mould or turf. The peasants usually construct the whole house solely with the assistance of the hatchet, and cut the planks of the floor with the same instrument, in many parts being unacquainted with the use of the saw: they finish the shell of the house and the roof, before they begin to cut the windows and doors. The windows are openings of a few inches square, closed with sliding frames; and the doors are so low as not to admit a middle-sized man without stooping.

These cottages sometimes, though very rarely, consist of two stories; in which case the lower apartment is a kind of store-room for their provisions, quafs, &c. and the upper room is the habitable part of the house; the stair-case is most commonly a kind of ladder on the outside; most of these huts are, however, only one story in height; a few of them contain two rooms, the generality only one. In some of this latter sort I was frequently awakened by the chickens picking the grains of corn in the straw upon which I lay, and
more

more than once by a less inoffensive animal. At Tabluka, CHAP.
I. a village, where we passed the night of the 27th, a party of hogs gained admittance into the room at four in the morning, and roused me by grunting close to my ear. Not much pleased either with the earliness of the visit, or the salutation of my visitors, I called out to my servant, "Joseph, drive these gentry out of the room, and shut the door." "There is no door that will shut," replied Joseph with great composure, "we have tried every expedient to fasten it without success; the hogs have more than once been excluded, but have as often returned." This conversation so effectually roused me, that I determined to resign to my unwelcome guests that litter which I could no longer enjoy myself: I accordingly raised myself from the straw, and, sitting down, contemplated by the light of a slip of deal the scene around me. My two companions were stretched upon the same parcel of straw from which I had just emerged; a little beyond them our servants occupied a separate heap; at a small distance three Russians, with long beards, and coarse sackcloth shirts and trowsers, lay extended upon their backs on the bare floor; on the opposite side of the room three women in their clothes slumbered on a long bench; while the top of the stove afforded a couch to a woman dressed like the others, and four sprawling children almost naked.

The furniture in these cottages consists chiefly of a wooden table or dresser, and benches fastened to the sides of the room: the utensils are platters, bowls, spoons, &c. all made of wood, with perhaps one large earthen pan, in which the family cook their victuals. The food of the peasants is black-rye-bread, sometimes white, eggs, salt-fish, bacon, mushrooms; their favourite dish is a kind of hodge-podge made

BOOK made of salt, or sometimes fresh meat, groats, rye-flour,
 III. highly seasoned with onions and garlick, which latter ingredients are much used by the Russians.

The peasants seemed greedy of money, and almost wholly demanded previous payment for every trifle we bought or bargained for. They seemed also in general much inclined to thieving. In Poland it was not necessary to be always upon the watch; and we frequently left the equipage during the whole night without any guard: but in this country, without the precaution of regularly stationing a servant in the carriage, every article would soon have disappeared; and even with this expedient, the watchfulness of our *Argus* was continually baffled by the superior vigilance of the natives; and the morning generally announced some petty loss, to which the night had given birth.

The peasants at every post were obliged to furnish us with horses at a fixed and very reasonable rate, which had one ill effect of rendering them extremely dilatory in their motions; and as our only interpreter was a Bohemian * servant, not perfectly acquainted with the Russian language, his difficulty in explaining, joined to their backwardness in executing our orders, occasioned our frequently waiting several hours for a change of horses. The peasants acted in the capacity of coachmen and postilions: they always harnessed four horses a-breast, and commonly put eight, and sometimes even ten horses to our carriage, as the stages were for the most part twenty, and sometimes even thirty miles in length, and the roads extremely bad. They seldom used either boots or saddles, and had no sort of stirrup, except a rope doubled and thrown across the horse's back. Each horse was equipped with a snaffle-bridle, which however was sel-

* The Bohemian and Russian languages are both dialects of the Slavonian tongue.

dom inserted into the mouth, but was generally suffered to hang loose under his jaw. The general method of driving was not in a steady pace, but by starts and bounds, with little attention to the nature of the ground: the peasants seldom trotted their horses; they would suddenly push them forwards into a gallop through the worst roads, and sometimes as suddenly check their speed upon the most level surface. A common piece of rope served them for a whip, which they seldom had any occasion to use, as they urged their horses forwards by hooting and whistling like cat-calls. The intervals of these noises were filled with singing, which is a favourite practice among the Russians; and has been mentioned by most travellers who, for these two or three last centuries, have visited this country, and which I shall enlarge upon on a future occasion. CHAP.
I.

From the wretched harness, which was continually breaking, and required to be repeatedly adjusted, the badness of the roads, the length of time we were always detained at the posts before we could procure horses, and other necessary impediments, we were seldom able to travel more than forty or fifty miles a day, although we commenced our journey before sun-rise, and pursued it till it was quite dark.

August 27. Near Viasma we entered the vast forest of Volkonki, through which we continued for 150 miles without interruption almost to the gates of Moscow. This forest, which stretches on all sides to an immense extent, gives rise to the principal rivers of European Russia, the Duna, the Dnieper, and the Volga. The sources of the Duna were at some distance from our route; but those of the Dnieper and the Volga rose at small intervals from each other, not far from Viasma. The country in this part was more than usual

BOOK broken into hill and dale; though still it exhibited rather
 III. a succession of waving surface, than any considerable elevations.

On the 28th we arrived at the village of Gretkeva towards the close of the evening, and imprudently proceeded on our journey another stage of eighteen miles: the evening fat in exceedingly dark, cold, and rainy; the road was uncommonly bad, and we were in continual apprehensions of being overturned. The greatest danger, however, which we encountered, was unknown to us until we arrived at the end of the station: we were then informed by our servants, that we had actually crossed a broad piece of water upon a wooden bridge without railing, so infirm that it almost cracked under the carriage, and so narrow that one of the hind-wheels was for an instant absolutely suspended over the precipice beneath. Our usual good fortune brought us safe between twelve and one to a cottage at Moshaïsk, where we found an excellent ragout of beef and onions prepared for us by the trusty servant, who always preceded us, and provided our lodging and supper. I have little to say of Moshaïsk, as we entered it at so late an hour, and departed the next morning by day-break. We changed horses at the village of Selo-Naro, and arrived early in the evening at Malo-à-Viasma, embosomed in the forest, and pleasantly situated at the edge of a small lake. This place was distant only 24 miles from Moscow, where we were impatient to arrive; but we prudently deferred our journey until the next morning, as we did not chuse to tempt fortune again by exposing ourselves a second time to dangers in a dark and in an unknown country.

The road for some way before we came to Malo-à-Viasma, and from thence to Moscow, was for the whole space a broad

straight avenue cut through the forest. The trees, which composed these vast plantations, set by the hand of Nature, were oaks, beech, mountain-ash, poplar, pines and firs, mingled together in the most wanton variety. The different shades of green, and the rich tints of the autumnal colours, were inexpressibly beautiful ; while the sublime, but uniform expanse of forest was occasionally relieved by recesses of pastures and corn-fields.

CHAP.
I.

C H A P. II.

Arrival at Moscow.—History of its origin and progress.—Removal of the seat of empire to Petersburg.—General and particular description of Moscow.—Its divisions.—Kremlin.—Khitaigorod.—Bielgorod.—Semlainigorod.—The Sloboda, or suburbs.—New palace-gardens,—Old style.—Hospitality of the Russian nobles.—Polite attentions of Prince Volkonski.—Account of Mr. Muller the celebrated historian.—Anniversary of St. Alexander Nevski.—Ceremonies of the day.—Entertainments at Count Alexèy Orlof's.—his stud.—Boxing Matches.—Vauxhall, &c.

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III.

AUGUST 30. Our approach to Moscow was first announced about the distance of six miles by some spires, which over-topped an eminence at the end of the broad avenue cut through the forest: about two or three miles further we ascended an height, from whence a most superb prospect of the vast city burst upon our sight. It lay in the form of a crescent, and stretched to a prodigious extent, while innumerable churches, towers, gilded spires and domes, white, red, and green buildings glittering in the sun, formed a most splendid appearance, yet strangely contrasted by an intermixture of numberless wooden hovels. The neighbouring country was undulating; the forest reached to within a mile of the ramparts, when it was succeeded by an open range of pastures without enclosures. We crossed the river Moskva over a raft floating upon the water, and fastened to each

each bank, which the Russians call a living-bridge, from its ^{CHAP. II.} bending under the carriage. After a strict examination of our passport, being permitted to enter the gates, we drove through the suburbs for a considerable way along a wooden road, entered one of the interior circles of the town, called Bielgorod, and took up our quarters at an inn kept by a Frenchman, at which some of the nobility hold assemblies. Our apartments were convenient and spacious; we also found every accommodation in abundance, except beds and sheets; for as no one thinks of travelling in this country without those articles, inns are seldom provided with them. With much trouble, however, we were able to obtain from our landlord two bedsteads with bedding, and one matras to place upon the floor; but we could not procure more than three sheets, one whereof fell to my share: we had been so long accustomed to sleep in our clothes upon straw, that we thought ourselves in a state of unheard-of luxury, and blessed ourselves for our good fortune.

Moscow, called by the natives Moskva, is not so antient as Novogorod, Kiof, Volodimir, and Tver, which towns had been the residence of the Russian sovereigns before this city existed. The antiquarians of this country differ considerably in their opinions concerning the first foundation of Moscow; the following relation is generally esteemed by the best authors the most probable account *.

Kiof was the metropolis, when George son of Volodimir Monomaka ascended in 1154 the Russian throne. That monarch, being insulted in a progress through his dominions by a rich and powerful nobleman named Stephen Kutchko, put him to death, and confiscated his domains, which con-

* See Sumorokoff's *Kleine Chronik Von Moskau* in *St. Pet. Journal* for 1776; and Scherebatoff's *Russ. Gef.* p. 736.

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III. fisted of the lands now occupied by the city of Moscow, and the adjacent territory. Pleased with the situation of the ground lying at the conflux of the Moskva and Neglina, he laid the foundation of a new town, which he called Moskva from the river of that name. Upon the demise of George, the new town was not neglected by his son Andrew, who transferred the seat of empire from Kiof to Volodimir; but it fell into such decay under his immediate successors, that when Daniel, son of Alexander Nevski, received, in the division of the empire, the duchy of Muscovy as his portion, and fixed his residence upon the conflux of the Moskva and Neglina, he may be said to have new founded the town. The spot now occupied by the Kremlin, was at that time overspread with a thick wood and a morass; in the midst whereof was a small island, containing a single wooden hut. Upon this part Daniel constructed churches and monasteries, and various buildings, and enclosed it with wooden fortifications; he first assumed the title of duke of Moscow; and was so attached to this situation, that when, in 1304, he succeeded his brother Andrew Alexandrovitch in the great duchy of Volodimir, he did not remove his court to Volodimir, but continued his residence at Moscow, which then became the capital of the Russian dominions. His successors followed his example; among whom his son Ivan considerably enlarged the new metropolis; and in 1367 his grandson Demetrius Ivanovitch Donski surrounded the Kremlin with a brick-wall. These new fortifications, however, were not strong enough to prevent Tamerlane, in 1382, from taking the town after a short siege*. Being soon evacuated by that desultory conqueror, it came into the possession of the Rus-

* S. R. G. v. II. p. 93.

fians ; but was frequently invaded and occupied by the Tartars, who in the 14th and 15th centuries over-ran the greatest part of Russia ; and who even maintained a garrison in Moscow, until they were finally expelled by Ivan Vassilievitch I. To him Moscow is indebted for its principal splendour ; and under him it became the principal and most considerable city of the Russian empire.

The Baron of Herberstein, who in the beginning of the sixteenth century was ambassador from the emperor Maximilian to the great-duke Vassili, son of the above-mentioned Ivan Vassilievitch, is the first foreign writer who has given a description of Moscow, which he accompanied with a coarse engraving of the town in wood *. In this curious, but rude plan, we may distinguish the walls of the Kremlin, or citadel, in their present state, and we may recognize several of the public buildings, which even now contribute to its ornament. From this period we are able to trace its subsequent progress and gradual increase under the succeeding sovereigns in the accounts of several English† and foreign‡ writers, who, since Herberstein, have published their travels into these parts.

Moscow continued the metropolis of Russia until the beginning of the present century ; when, to the great dissatisfaction of the nobility, but with great advantage, probably, to the state, the seat of empire was transferred to Peterburgh.

Notwithstanding the predilection which Peter conceived for Peterburgh, in which all the succeeding sovereigns, excepting Peter II. have fixed their residence, Moscow is still the most populous city of the Russian empire. Here the chief

* See *Rev. Mos. Com.* in *Rev. Mos. Arch.* Perry, Bruce, &c.

† Chiefly Chancellor Fletcher, Smith, the author of *Lord Carlisle's Embassy*, ‡ Possevinus, Margaret, Petreius, Olca-rius, Mayerberg, Le Bruyn, &c.

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III. nobles who do not belong to the court of the emperess reside; they here support a larger number of retainers; they love to gratify their taste for a ruder and more expensive magnificence in the antient style of feudal grandeur; and are not, as at Petersburg, eclipsed by the superior splendour of the court.

Moscow is situated in $37^{\circ} 31''$ degree of longitude from the first meridian of Greenwich, and in $55^{\circ} 45' 45''$ of northern latitude.

It is certainly the largest town in Europe; its circumference within the rampart, which encloses the suburbs, being exactly 39 versts, or 26 miles*; but it is built in so straggling and disjointed a manner, that its population in no degree corresponds to its extent. Some Russian authors state its inhabitants at 500,000 souls; a number evidently exaggerated. Busching, who resided some years in Russia, says that in 1770 Moscow contained 708 brick-houses, and 11,840 wooden habitations; 85,731 males and 67,059 females, in all only 152,790 souls; a computation which seems to err in the other extreme†.

According to an account published in the Journal of St. Petersburg‡, the district of Moscow contained, in the beginning of 1780, 2178 hearths; and the number of inhabitants were 137,698 males, and 134,918 females, in all 272,616 souls. In the course of that same year the deaths amounted to 3702, and the births to 8621; and in the end, the population of the district was found to be 140,143 males, and 137,392 females, in all 277,535 souls.

* Its circumference is nearly equal to that of Pekin, which, including its suburbs, measures 40 versts, or 26 miles and three-quarters. Journal of St. Pet. April, 1775,

p. 243.

† Busching's Neue Erdbeschreibung. V. I. p. 841. Edit. 1777.

‡ For 1781, p. 200.

This computation is certainly more to be depended upon than either of the others; and its truth has been recently confirmed to me by an English gentleman lately returned from Moscow, who made this topic the subject of his inquiries. According to his account, which he received from the lieutenant of the police *,

Moscow contains within the ramparts 250,000 souls.

And in the adjacent villages 50,000

If I was struck with the singularity of Smolensko, I was all astonishment at the immensity and variety of Moscow. Something so irregular, so uncommon, so extraordinary, and so contrasted, never before fell under my observation. The streets are in general exceedingly long and broad: some of them are paved; others, particularly those in the suburbs, are formed with trunks of trees, or are boarded with planks like the floor of a room; wretched hovels are blended with large palaces; cottages of one story stand next to the most superb and stately mansions. Many brick structures are covered with wooden tops; some of the wooden houses are painted, others have iron doors and roofs. Numerous churches presented themselves in every quarter built in a peculiar style of architecture; some with domes of copper, others of tin, gilt or painted green, and many roofed with wood. In a word, some parts of this vast city have the look of a sequestered desert, other quarters of a populous town, some of a contemptible village, others of a great capital.

Moscow may be considered as a town built upon the Asiatic model, but gradually becoming more and more European; and exhibiting in its present state a motley mixture of dis-

* This computation may be relied upon. For as a new aqueduct near Moscow was just finished, it was necessary to form as exact an estimate as possible of the number of inhabitants, in order to regulate the necessary supply of water for each family.

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cordant architecture. It is distributed into the following divisions. 1. Kremlin. 2. Khitaigorod. 3. Bielgorod. 4. Semlainogorod. 5. Sloboda; which, for want of a more precise term, I shall call the suburbs.

1. The Kremlin was probably thus denominated by the Tartars when they were in possession of Moscow, from the word Krem, or Krim, which signifies a fortress: it stands in the central and highest part of the city, near the conflux of the Moskva and Neglina, which wash two of its sides, is of a triangular form, and about two miles in circumference. It is surrounded by high walls of stone and brick, which were constructed by Peter Solarius, a celebrated architect of Milan, in the year 1491, under the reign of Ivan Vassilievitch I. as appears from the following curious inscription over one of the gates.

“ Joannes Vasilii Dei Gracia Magnus Dux Volodimeriæ
 “ Moscoviæ Novogardie Tiferiæ Plefcoviæ Veticie
 “ Ongarie Permiie Buolgarie et Aliar. Totius Q.
 “ Raxiæ Dominus Anno Tertio Imperii Sui Has
 “ Turres Condere Fet. Statuit Petrus Antonides Sola-
 “ rius Mediolanensis anno Nat. Domini. 1491. K. Julii.”

The reader will doubtless be as much surprized as I was to find that the Tzars employed foreign architects at so early a period of their history, before their country was scarcely known to the rest of Europe. The Kremlin is not disfigured by wooden houses*, and contains the antient palace of the Tzars, several churches, two convents, the patriarchal palace, the arsenal now in ruins, and one private house, which belonged to Boris Godunof before he was raised to the throne.

* See the next Chapter, where some of these buildings are described.

2. The second division is called Khitaigorod, a term conjectured by some etymologists to imply the Chinese town. Voltaire, in his History of Peter the Great, peremptorily supports this opinion, when he calls Khitaigorod “*La partie appelée la ville Chinoise, où les raretés de la chine s’étalaient* *.” But it may be remarked, that this division of Moscow bore its present appellation long before any connection was opened between the Russians and Chinese; and the best historians of this country, without pretending to ascertain its original signification, suppose the word Cathay or Khitai to have been introduced by the Tartars when they had possession of Moscow *: in proof of this conjecture, it is alledged, that there is a town in the Ukraine called Khitaigorod, and another of the same name in Podolia; both which countries, though entirely unknown to the Chinese, have been either over-run or inhabited by Tartars.

The Khitaigorod is inclosed on one side by that wall of the Kremlin which runs from the Moskva to the Neglina; and on the other side by a brick wall of inferior height. It is much larger than the Kremlin, and contains the university, the printing-house, and many other public buildings, and all the tradesmens’ shops. The edifices are mostly stuccoed or white-washed; and it has the only street in Moscow in which the houses stand close to one another without any intervals between them.

3. The Bielgorod, or White Town, which runs quite round the two preceding divisions, is supposed to derive its name from a white wall with which it was formerly enclosed, and of which some remains are still to be seen.

* S. R. G. v. 8. p. 538—541.

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4. Semlainogorod, which environs all the three other quarters, takes its denomination from a circular rampart of earth with which it is encompassed. These two last mentioned divisions exhibit a grotesque group of churches, convents, palaces, brick and wooden houses, and mean hovels, in no degree superior to peasants cottages.

5. The Sloboda, or Suburbs, from a vast exterior circle round all the parts already described, and are invested with a low rampart and ditch. These suburbs contain, beside buildings of all kinds and denominations, corn-fields, much open pasture, and some small lakes, which give rise to the Neglina.

The Moskva, from which the city takes its name, flows through it in a winding channel ; but, excepting in Spring, is only navigable for rafts. It receives the Yauza in the Semlainogorod and the Neglina at the western extremity of the Kremlin ; the beds of both these last-mentioned rivulets are, in summer, little better than dry channels.

The morning after our arrival we ordered our Russian servant to hire a carriage for our use during our stay at Moscow : the equipage he procured was a chariot and four horses of different colours ; the coachman and postilion were dressed like the peasants, with high cylindrical hats ; the former, with a long beard and sheep-skin robe, sat upon the box ; the latter, in a coarse druggert garb, was mounted upon the off horse, according to the custom of this country. Behind the carriage was an enormous sack of hay : upon expressing some surprize at this appendage, we were informed, that almost every carriage at Moscow is provided with a viaticum of this sort, which, while the master is paying his visits, or is at dinner, is occasionally given to the horses.

Some refreshments of this kind, indeed, seemed absolutely necessary, as our horses never saw the stable from the time of leaving it in the morning, until they returned to it in the evening, or at midnight; and were kept during that interval, like those of our hackney-coaches, in the streets. During our continuance in this city we, not uncommonly, perceived about dinner-time, in the court-yards of those houses where we dined, many horses without bridles, and unharnessed from the respective carriages, browsing upon their portable provender strewed upon the ground; with them were intermixed different parties of coachmen and postilions, who at the same time gratified the calls of hunger upon a repast ready prepared, like that of their cattle, and which too required as little ceremony in serving up. The frequency of these objects soon rendered them familiar to us; and we ceased to look upon our truss of hay as an excrescence.

The first visit we made of our new equipage was to convey us to our banker, who lived at the furthest extremity of one of the suburbs, about the distance of four miles from our inn. Our coachman drove us through the town with great expedition, generally in a brisk trot, and frequently a full gallop, without any distinction of paved or boarded streets. Having settled our business with the banker, who was our countryman, and who obligingly furnished us with a large collection of English news-papers, we crossed the Yausa over a raft-bridge to a palace, which was constructed for the accommodation of the present empress, whenever she may chuse to visit Moscow: this palace was not, according to our ordinary acceptation of the word, a single structure, but, in the true style of Asiatic grandeur, a vast assemblage of numerous buildings distributed into several streets, and bearing the appearance of a moderate town. The base of all these buildings.

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buildings is of stone, but of so soft a nature, that it seemed scarcely adequate to the support of the superstructure; the bricks used for the remainder of the fabric were so indifferently prepared; that they crumbled at the touch: nor did the workmanship exceed the materials; for it was obvious to the most careless observer, that the walls were in many places out of the perpendicular line.

I was astonished upon observing, that the greatest part of the timber, used in the construction of these vast piles of building, no less than ordinary cottages, was fashioned with the axe. Though I often saw the carpenters at work, I never once perceived a saw in their hands: they cut the trees through with the axe; they hewed planks with the axe; they formed the beams, and fitted them together with the axe. With this simple engine they mortised and tenanted the smallest as well as the largest pieces of wood; and smoothed the boards for the floor with the nicest exactness. The dexterity, indeed, and justness with which they managed this instrument was wonderful; but its tedious mode of operation must evidently occasion a prodigious waste of labour and wood.

The gardens, which belonged to the old palace, built by Elizabeth near the spot where the present structure was erecting, are still retained: they are of considerable extent, and contained some of the best gravel-walks I have seen since my departure from England. In some parts the grounds were laid out in a pleasing and natural manner; but in general the old style of gardening prevailed, and continually presented us with rows of chipped yew-trees, long straight canals, and a profusion of preposterous statues. Hercules was presiding at a fountain, with a retinue of gilded Cupids, dolphins, and lamias; every little structure was a pantheon; and

and every grove was haunted by its Apollos and Dianas ; but the principal deity in the place seemed to be a female figure holding a cornucopia reversed, which, instead of distributing, as usual, all kinds of fruit, grain, and flowers, poured out crowns, coronets, and mitres. But the reign of all these deities was doomed to be very short : under the auspices of her present majesty all these instances of grotesque taste were to be removed, and give place to more natural ornaments. This palace and gardens are at the extremity of the suburbs, within the compass of the exterior rampart which encircles the whole town.

We soon ceased to be surprized that our carriage was provided with four horses, nothing being more common than to meet the equipages of the nobility with complete sets, driving merely about the streets of Moscow. As the city is of so large a compass, a great number of hackney-carriages are stationed in the streets for the convenience of carrying passengers to the different quarters. These vehicles are without tops, have mostly four wheels, and are provided either with a long bench, or one, two, or three separate seats, like arm-chairs, placed side-ways : their fares are so reasonable, that servants occasionally use them upon errands to distant parts of the city. The coachman generally drives a full trot at the rate of eight or nine miles in an hour.

September 1. This morning we received a card of invitation from Count Osterman, governor of Moscow, to dinner for the 23d of August ; but, as it was the 1st of September, our servant, who took the message, came laughing into the room, and informed us, that we were invited to an entertainment which was past ; he added, that he had endeavoured to convince the person who brought the card of the mistake ; but the man insisted that the ensuing day

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day was the 23d of August. It was indeed a natural mistake in our servant, who did not know that the Russians still adhered to the old style; and as he had passed the 23d of August in Lithuania, it is no wonder that he was surprized at finding it again so soon at Moscow.

Until the reign of Peter the Great the Russians began their year in September, and dated their æra from the creation of the world *, and not from the nativity of our Saviour. In 1700 Peter instituted a grand jubilee at Moscow, and ordained, that from that period the year should commence in January, and be computed from the Christian æra, according to the old style then in use in England. Out of veneration to his memory no alteration has been since made in the Russian calendar; so that at present Russia, and some of the protestant Swiss republics, are the only European nations who still retain the old style.

The same morning we carried a letter of recommendation from count Stakelbergh, the Russian ambassador at Warsaw, to prince Volkonski governor of the province, who received us with great frankness and cordiality, and immediately invited us to dinner, desiring us to consider his table as ours as long as we continued at Moscow. The prince is in his 67th year, and remembered, when he was about thirteen, to have seen Peter the Great; whom he described as very tall, above six feet in height, strong and well made, with his head slouching and awry, of a dark complexion, and a countenance continually subject to distortions; he was generally dressed in his blue uniform, or a plain brown coat, was remarkable for the fineness of his linen, wore his short black hair without powder, and whiskers. The prince amused us with relating several curious anec-

* They reckoned also, according to the opinion of the Greeks, 5508 years, instead of only 3369, from the creation to the nativity.

dotes of that great monarch, and, amongst others, the following, which he received from prince Menzikof. CHAP.
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After the battle of Pultava, while prince Volkonski, the father of our noble host, was following Charles XII. with a corps of light horse, and was at no great distance from him, an aid-de-camp brought an order from Menzikof to halt: he obeyed, but dispatched a messenger to acquaint the prince, that he was pursuing the king of Sweden with the fairest prospect of over-taking him. Menzikof was greatly astonished at this message, as no orders for discontinuing the pursuit had issued from him: and his supposed aid-de-camp who delivered them was never discovered. As Peter, when informed of this transaction, instituted no inquiry concerning the person who had probably prevented the capture of his most formidable rival, it is suspected that the stratagem was contrived by himself, in order to avoid being embarrassed with a prisoner, whom he would be unwilling either to release, or to detain long in captivity.

Nothing can exceed the hospitality of the Russians. We could never pay a morning visit to any nobleman without being detained to dinner; we also constantly received several general invitations; but as we considered them in the light of mere compliments, we were unwilling to intrude ourselves without further notice. We soon found, however, that the principal persons of distinction kept open tables, and were highly obliged at our resorting to them without ceremony. Prince Volkonski in particular, having casually discovered that we had dined the preceding day at our inn, politely upbraided us; repeating his assurances, that his table was ours, and that whenever we were not particularly engaged, he should always expect us for his guests.

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Indeed the strongest expressions can scarcely do justice to the attention and kindness of this excellent nobleman : not content with admitting us to his table without form, he was anxious that our curiosity should be gratified with the sight of every remarkable object at Moscow; he ordered his aid-de-camp to accompany us to different parts of the city; and as we were extremely desirous to become acquainted with Mr. Muller, the celebrated historian of this country, he one day invited that respectable old gentleman to meet us at dinner.

Gerard Frederick Muller, a native of Germany, was born, in 1705, at Herforden, in the circle of Westphalia. He came into Russia during the reign of Catharine I.; and was not long afterwards admitted into the Imperial Academy of Sciences, of which society he is one of the most antient members. In 1731, soon after the accession of the empress Anne, he commenced, at the expence of the crown, his travels over European Russia, and into the extreme parts of Siberia. He was absent several years upon this expedition; and did not return to Petersburgh until the reign of Elisabeth. The present empress, an able judge and rewarder of merit, conferred upon him a very ample salary, and appointed him counsellor of state and keeper of the archives at Moscow, where he has resided about sixteen years. He collected, during his travels, the most ample materials for the history and geography of this extensive empire, which was scarcely known to the Russians themselves, before his valuable researches were given to the world in various publications. His principal work is a "Collection of Russian Histories*," in nine volumes octavo, printed at different intervals at the press of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. The first part

* Sammlung Russischer Geschichte.

came out in 1732, and the last made its appearance in 1764. CHAP.
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 This store-house of information and literature, in regard to the antiquities, history, geography, and commerce of Russia, and many of the neighbouring countries, conveys the most indisputable proofs of the author's learning, diligence, and fidelity. To this work the accurate and indefatigable writer has successively added many other valuable performances upon similar subjects, both in the German and Russian languages, which elucidate various parts in the history of this empire.

Mr. Muller speaks and writes the German, Russian, French, and Latin tongues with surprizing fluency; and reads the English, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, and Greek with great facility. His memory is still surprizing; and his accurate acquaintance with the minutest incidents of the Russian annals almost surpasses belief.

At the conclusion of the dinner at prince Volkonski's, I had the pleasure of accompanying this eminent historian to his house, and passed some hours in his library. He possesses most of the books in the different languages of modern Europe which treat of Russia: the English writers who have written upon this country are far more numerous than I imagined. His collection of state-papers and manuscripts are invaluable: they are all arranged in the exactest order, and classed into several volumes, distinguished by the names of those illustrious personages to whom they principally relate; such as Peter I. Catharine I. Menzikof, Osterman, &c. *

* The empress has lately purchased this fine collection of books and manuscripts for £3000. Bachmeister Russ. Bib. for 1781, p. 554. This great patroness of letters has consigned to Mr. Muller the charge of

arranging and printing, at her expence, a Collection of Treaties between Russia and the other powers, in the form of Dumont's Corps Diplomatique.

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III. Every lover of literature must regret, that Mr. Muller, who is admirably qualified for the task, has not favoured the publick with a regular, unbroken history of this country; but, on account of his advanced age, an undertaking of this kind, although all the materials are already prepared, cannot be expected from him: he must therefore consign to others the use of those papers, which he has so diligently accumulated. He will, however, always be considered as the great father of Russian history, as well from the excellent specimens he himself has produced, as from the vast fund of information which he bequeaths to future historians.

Sept. 10. This day being sacred to Alexander Nevski, a saint highly revered by the Russians, and in whose honour an order of knighthood is instituted, was kept with great solemnity and magnificence. Service was performed in the principal churches of Moscow with all the pageantry peculiar to the Greek religion; and the governor of the province gave a splendid entertainment, to which the principal nobility and clergy of this city were invited. As strangers we were desirous of observing the ceremonies of the day, and by the attention of our acquaintance our curiosity was amply gratified. But before I proceed to give a description of what occurred upon this occasion, it may be necessary to premise a short account of the saint who gave rise to this festival, and who, though adored by the Russians, is scarcely known beyond the limits of this country.

Alexander Nevski, a name more respectable than most of the saints who fill the Russian Calendar, was son of the great-
duke Yaroslav, and flourished in the beginning of the 13th century, at a period when his country had been reduced to
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the utmost extremity by a combination of formidable ene-
 mies. He repulsed an army of Swedes and Teutonic knights,
 and wounded the king of Sweden with his own hand on the
 bank of the Neva, from whence he obtained the appellation
 of Nevski. He defeated the Tartars in several engage-
 ments, and delivered his country from a disgraceful tribute
 imposed by the successors of Zinghis Khan. His life seems
 to have been almost one continued scene of action; and he
 shewed such prowess, and performed such almost incredible
 acts of valour, that it is no wonder ignorant and superstitious
 people should consider him as a superior being, and should
 consecrate his memory; indeed, of all idolatry, that which
 is paid to real merit, and in gratitude for real services, is the
 most natural, and the most excusable. He died about the
 year 1262 at Gorodetz near Nishnei Novogorod. The great
 superiority of his character was evinced, as well by victories
 which distinguished the Russian arms during his life, as by
 the numerous defeats which immediately took place on his
 decease.

The morning of this anniversary was ushered in by the
 ringing of bells uncommonly loud; incessant peals resounded
 in every quarter of the city, but more particularly in the
 Kremlin, which contains the principal churches and the
 largest bells. Before eleven we paid our respects to prince
 Volkonski, who, as governor of the province of Moscow,
 had a levee: he wore the red ribband of the order of St.
 Alexander, and received the compliments of the principal
 nobility and gentry. From the levee we repaired to the
 cathedral of St. Michael, and were present at high mass, per-
 formed by the archbishop of Rostof. The church was filled
 with such an immense concourse of people, that it was with
 the utmost difficulty we could penetrate to the bottom of the
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steps leading to the shrine, at the top of which the bishop stood whenever he came forth to address the congregation. The confusion arising from the croud, and the rapid succession of various ceremonies, so distracted our attention, as to render us incapable of discriminating the different parts of the service. We could only observe in general a great display of pomp and splendour, and many ceremonies similar to those described on a former occasion *, with the addition of several others appropriated to the greater festivals of the Russian church.

At the conclusion of the service, which lasted two hours, we returned to prince Volkonski's, where about ninety persons were assembled at an entertainment given in honour of the day: when the archbishop of Rostof entered the room, the prince rose to meet him at the door, and kissed his hand after the archbishop had made the sign of the cross; he paid the same mark of respect to two other bishops; and the greatest part of the company successively followed the prince's example. Being presented to the archbishop, I had the honour of holding a long conversation with him in the Latin tongue, which he spoke with great fluency. He appeared to be a sensible well-informed man, and well versed in various branches of literature: he had perused the works of several of our best divines, either originally written, or translated into Latin, and mentioned their compositions with great applause. I troubled him with several questions relative to the service of the Russian church, which he answered with great readiness and condescension. He told me that the Bible is translated into Sclavonian, and that the liturgy is written in that language, which is the mother-tongue

of the Russian; and that therefore the style of the sacred writings, though somewhat antient and obsolete, is yet understood without much difficulty even by the common people. He informed me, that the clergy are divided into secular and regular priests: that the latter, from whom are chosen the dignitaries of the church, are not permitted to marry; that the seculars are the parish-priests, and from a literal observation of St. Paul's precept, "the husband of one wife," are required as a qualification for orders to marry; and that, on the spirit of the same tenet, are after the death of their wives deemed unfit for the sacred function. The incapacitation arising from widowhood may, indeed, be healed by the bishop's dispensation*; but the operation of a second marriage is final, and irrevocably divorces from the altar. The archbishop was politely continuing to acquaint me with many other circumstances peculiar to their ecclesiastical establishment, when the conversation was interrupted by a summons to dinner. Before dinner a small table in the corner of the withdrawing-room, as is the usual custom in this country, had been covered with plates of caviare, red-herring, bread, butter, and cheese, and different sorts of *liqueurs*, to which the company helped themselves before they adjourned to dinner.

About ninety persons sat down to table. The entertainment was splendid and profuse. During the second course, a large glass with a cover was brought to prince Volkonski, who, standing up, delivered the cover to the archbishop, who sat next him, filled the glass with champagne, and drank the empresses health, which was accompanied with a discharge of cannon. The archbishop followed his exam-

* In general the secular priest, when a widower, is received into a monastery.

ple, and the glass was in like manner circulated round the table. The healths of the great-duke, of the great-duchess, and of their son prince Alexander were then successively toasted with the same ceremonies; after which count Panin arose, and drinking a return of thanks to prince Volkonski as master of the feast, was joined by the whole company. When each toast was named by the prince, all the persons at table got up out of respect, and remained standing while he drank. The reader will excuse the mention of these particulars on this and other occasions; as they may be deemed not unworthy of notice, because they are sometimes characteristics of national manners.

During our stay at Moscow we frequently experienced the hospitality of count Alexey Orlof, who, in the last war with the Porte, commanded the Russian fleet in the Archipelago, and burnt the Turkish armament in the bay of Tchesme, for which action he has been honoured with the title of Tchefminski. The custom of conferring an additional name for the performance of signal services to the country was, in imitation of the Romans, familiarly practised by Constantine and his successors the Greek emperors, who reigned at Constantinople. From that quarter it probably passed to the Russians, who in the earlier times of their history gave appellations of this kind to some of their illustrious leaders. Thus the great-duke Alexander was called Nevski for his victory over the Swedes near the Neva; and his great-grandson Demetrius Ivanovitch was denominated Donski for his conquest of the Tartars upon the banks of the Don. This custom, which had long been discontinued, has been lately revived by the present empress. Accordingly Marshal Romanzof received the denomination of Sudanovski from his victories south of the Danube; prince Dolgorucki that

of Crimski for his successes in the Crimea, and count Orlof this of Tchesminski from the action in the bay of Tchesme. CHAP.
II.

The house of count Orlof is situated at the extremity of one of the suburbs, upon an elevated spot, commanding a fine view of the vast city of Moscow and the neighbouring country. A number of separate buildings occupy a large tract of ground. The offices, stables, manege, and other detached structures, are entirely of brick; the foundation and lower story of the dwelling-house are constructed with the same materials, but the upper part is built with wood *, neatly painted of a green colour. We carried a letter of recommendation from prince Stanislaus Poniatowski, the king of Poland's nephew, to the count, who received us with great frankness and cordiality, and detained us to dinner; he desired us to lay aside all form; adding, he was a plain man, had a high esteem for the English nation, and should be happy to render us every service in his power during our stay at Moscow. We had the pleasure of dining several times with him, and always met with the most polite reception. The count seemed to live in the true style of old Russian hospitality; kept an open table, provided with a great variety of Greek wines, which he brought with him from his expedition into the Archipelago. One dish, served on his plentiful board, must be mentioned as the most delicious of the kind I ever tasted, and which I think only inferior to our best venison; it was a quarter of an Astrachan sheep, remarkable for the quantity and flavour of the fat †.

We

* Wooden houses are, by many persons in this country supposed to be warmer and more wholesome than those of brick and stone, which is the reason why several of the Russian nobility chuse that part of the house, which they inhabit themselves, to be constructed of wood.

† In the court-yard I observed several sheep of this species ranging about the stables, so perfectly tame that they suffered us to stroke them. They are almost as large as fallow deer, but with much shorter legs: they have no horns, long flowing ears, and, instead of tails, a large bunch of fat,

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We had music during dinner, which indeed generally made a part of the entertainment at the tables of the nobility. We observed also another very usual instance of parade; namely, a great number of retainers and dependents, mixed with servants, but seldom assisting in any menial office: they occasionally stood round their lord's chair, and seemed infinitely pleased whenever they were distinguished by a nod or a smile.

In this train there was an Armenian not long arrived from Mount Caucasus, who, agreeably to the custom of his country, inhabited a tent pitched in the garden, and covered with a thick kind of felt. His dress consisted of a long loose robe tied with a sash, large breeches, and boots: his hair was cut, in the manner of the Tartars,* in a circular form; his arms were a poignard, and a bow of buffalo's horn strung with the sinews of the same animal. He was extremely attached to his master: when he was first presented, he voluntarily took an oath of fealty, and swore, in the true language of Eastern hyperbole, to attack all the count's enemies, offering, as a proof of the sincerity of this declaration, to cut off his own ears; he also wished that all the sickness, which at any time threatened his master, might be transferred to himself. He examined our clothes, and seemed delighted with pointing out the superiority of his own dress in the article of convenience; he threw himself into different attitudes with uncommon agility, and desired us to follow his example; he danced a Calmuc dance, which consisted in straining every muscle, and writhing his body into various contortions without stirring from the spot: he beckoned

sometimes weighing thirty pounds. Mr. Pennant has given an engraving of these sheep in his *History of Quadrupeds*, which he has accompanied with an accurate description.

us into the garden, took great pleasure in showing us his tents and his arms; and shot several arrows to an amazing height. We were struck with the unartificial character of this Armenian, who seemed like a wild-man just beginning to be civilized.

Count Orlof, who is very fond of the manege, is esteemed to have, though not the largest, yet the finest stud in Russia: and he was so obliging as to gratify our curiosity by carrying us to see it near his country-house, at the distance of about fifteen miles from Moscow. He conveyed us in his own carriage drawn by six horses, harnessed with ropes, and placed two in front, and four a-breast in the hinder row: an empty coach, with six horses, ranged two by two, followed for parade. He was attended by four hussars, and the above-mentioned Armenian accoutred with his bow and quiver: the latter continually shouted and waved his hand with the strongest expressions of transport; he occasionally galloped his horse close to the carriage, then suddenly stopped, and wheeled round to the right or left with inconceivable rapidity.

In our route we passed several large convents, surrounded, like many of the monasteries in this country, with strong walls and battlements of brick, so as to have the appearance of small fortresses; crossed the Moskva twice, and came in about two hours into a spacious circular plain of luxuriant pasture, in the midst of which rises an insulated hill, with the count's house on the top. This seat commands a beautiful view of the circular plain, watered by the Moskva, and skirted by gentle hills, whose sides present a rich variety of wood, corn, and pastures.

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The greatest part of the stud was grazing in the plain: it consisted of a large number of the finest stallions, and above sixty brood-mares, most of whom had foals. The collection was gleaned from the most distant quarters of the globe, from Arabia, Turkey, Tartary, Persia, and England. He obtained the Arabians during his expedition in the Archipelago, some as presents from Ali-Bey, others by purchase or by conquest from the Turks: amongst these he chiefly prized four horses (two of which we had noticed in the manege at Moscow) of the true *Cochlean* breed, so much esteemed in Arabia, and so seldom seen out of their native country.

The count, after having politely attended us himself to the stud and about the grounds, regaled us with a most elegant entertainment, at which his vivacity lent charms to his splendour and hospitality. In our return to Moscow, we made a circuit to a small village about six miles from the capital, where a villa was erecting for the empress, called Tzaricino: it consisted, beside the principal building, of eight or ten detached structures in the Gothic taste, which were prettily dispersed among the plantations. The situation is romantic, a rising ground backed with wood, and a large piece of water embracing the foot of the hill.

I cannot forbear to mention in this place an act of almost Eastern magnificence, which this visit some time afterwards occasioned. One morning in the ensuing winter, at Peterburgh, one of the finest among the Arabian horses, which Lord Herbert had greatly admired at Moscow, was sent to him, accompanied with the following note.

“ My Lord, I observed that this horse pleased you, and
 “ therefore desire your acceptance of him. I received him
 “ as a present from Ali-Bey. He is a true Arabian of the
 “ *Cochlean* race, and in the late war was brought by the
 “ Russian

“ Russian ships from Arabia to me while I was in the Archipelago. I wish he may be as serviceable to you as he has been to me; and I remain, with esteem, your obedient servant,
 Count ALEXEY ORLOF TCHESMINSKI.”

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 II.

This valuable horse was sent from Petersburg by sea to England, and is now in the Earl of Pembroke's possession.

At the close of an entertainment, which the count one day gave us at Moscow, he introduced us to the sight of a Russian boxing-match, which is a favourite diversion among the common people. We repaired to the manege, where we found about three hundred peasants assembled. They divided themselves into two parties, each of which chose a chief, who called out the combatants, and pitted them against each other: only a single pair was allowed to engage at the same time. They did not strip as with us, and had on thick leathern gloves with thumb pieces, but with no separations for the fingers. From the stiffness of the leather they could scarcely double their fists; and many of them struck open handed. Their attitudes were very different from those used by boxers in England: they advanced the left foot and side; stretched the left arm towards the adversary in order to repel his blows; and kept the right arm swinging at some distance from the other. They generally struck in a circular direction at the face and head, never attacked the breast or sides, and seemed to have no notion of aiming a blow directly forwards. When any combatant felled his antagonist to the ground, he was declared victor, and the contest between that pair immediately ceased. During our stay we were witness to about twenty successive combats. Some of the men were of vast strength; but their mode of fighting prevented any mischief from its exertion; nor did we perceive any of those fractures and contusions in which boxing-matches

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matches in England so frequently terminate. Both parties were highly interested in favour of their respective champions; and seemed at times inclined to enter the lists in their support; but the first appearance of dispute, or growing heat, was humanely checked by the count, who acted as mediator: a kind word, or even a nod from him, instantly composed all differences. When he appeared desirous to put an end to the combats, they humbly requested his permission to honour them with his presence a little longer; upon his assent, they bowed their heads to the ground, and seemed as pleased as if they had received the highest favour. The count is greatly beloved by his peasants, and their stern countenances would melt into the most affectionate softness at his approach.

We made one day an agreeable excursion to Mikaulka, the villa of count Peter Panin, a Russian nobleman of the first distinction, who signalized himself in the late war against the Turks, by the taking of Bender; and more recently by the defeat and capture of the rebel Pugatchef. This villa is situated at the distance of six miles from Moscow, in the midst of a large forest. The count originally purposed to have raised a very grand structure of brick, after a design of his late wife; but upon her death he abandoned this project, and contented himself with a comfortable wooden house at the extremity of his grounds, which he at first erected only as a temporary habitation. His offices, stables, coach-houses, dog-kennels, lodgings for his huntsmen and other menial servants, form two long rows of separate wooden buildings, all with uniform fronts and neatly painted. The grounds are prettily laid out in the style of our parks with gentle slopes, spacious lawns of the finest verdure, scattered plantations,

plantations, and a large piece of water fringed with wood. We could not avoid feeling extreme satisfaction at observing, that the English style of gardening had penetrated even into these distant regions. The English taste, indeed, can certainly display itself in this country to great advantage, where the parks are extensive, and the verdure, during their short summer, uncommonly beautiful. Most of the Russian nobles have gardeners of our nation, and resign themselves implicitly to their direction. The count, who is fond of country diversions, had a pack of hounds chiefly of the English breed, consisting of an indiscriminate mixture of harriers, stag and fox-hounds selected without any regard to their sizes or sorts. With this same pack he hunted wolves, deer, foxes, and hares. He possessed likewise a fine breed of Russian greyhounds, in high estimation for their swiftness: they are shaggy and wire-haired, and some of them are taller than the largest Newfoundland dog I ever saw.

The count entertained us with a most sumptuous dinner: we were particularly struck with the quantity and quality of the fruit which made its appearance in the desert; pines, peaches, apricots, grapes, pears, cherries, none of which can in this country be obtained without the assistance of hot-houses, were served in the greatest profusion. There was a delicious species of small melon, which had been sent by land-carriage from Astrachan to Moscow, though at the distance of a thousand miles*. One instance of elegance which distinguished the desert, and which had the prettiest effect imaginable, must not be omitted: at the upper and lower end of the table were placed two china vases containing cherry

* These melons sometimes cost five pounds apiece, and at other times they may be purchased in the markets of Moscow for less than half a crown apiece.

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trees in full leaf, and fruit hanging on the boughs, which was gathered by the company. We observed also in the desert a curious species of apple, which is not uncommon in the neighbourhood of Moscow : it is somewhat larger than a golden-pippin, is of the colour and transparency of pale amber, and has an exquisite flavour ; the Russians call it Navlnich. The tree thrives here in the open air without any particular attention to its culture, but degenerates in other countries ; its slips and seed, when planted in a foreign soil, have hitherto produced only a common sort of apple, but never the transparent species.

In returning from Mikaulka we passed close to the villa of count Rosomouski Hetman of the Ukraine, and it resembled more a little town than a country house. It consisted of forty or fifty buildings of different sizes ; some of brick ; others of wood ; some painted, and others plain. He maintains his guard, a numerous train of retainers, and a large band of musicians. The Russian nobles display a great degree of grandeur and magnificence in their houses, domestics, and way of living. Their palaces at and near Moscow are stupendous piles of buildings ; and I am informed that their mansions, at a distance from Moscow and Petersburg, are upon a still greater scale, where they reside as independent princes, like the feudal barons in early times ; have their separate courts of justice, and govern their vassals with an almost unlimited sway.

I did not expect to have found in this northern climate a kind of Vauxhall, which our curiosity led us to visit. It is situated at the furthest extremity of the suburbs in a sequestered spot, which has more the appearance of the country than of a town. We entered by a covered way, similar to that

that at our Vauxhall, into the gardens, which were splendidly illuminated. There was an elegant rotunda for the company to walk in, either in cold or rainy weather, and several apartments for tea or supper. The entrance money was four shillings. The proprietor is an Englishman, whose name is Mattocks. The encouragement he met with from the natives on this occasion had enabled him to engage in constructing, at a very considerable expence, a spacious theatre of brick; and, as an indemnification, he had obtained from the empress an exclusive patent for all plays, and public masquerades, during ten years from the time of its completion.

The finest view of Moscow is to be seen from an eminence about four or five miles from the town, of which I have forgotten the Russian name, but its signification in English is Sparrow-hill: upon this eminence were the ruins of a large palace built by Alexey Michaelévitch. Upon our return we stopped at Vasiliófski, the villa of prince Dolgorucki, which stands upon the brow of the same hill. The Moskva, broader than usual, runs at its foot in a semicircle; and the vast city of Moscow lays open before it: the house is a large wooden building, to which we ascended by mounting three terrasses. The present possessor of this villa is prince Dolgorucki Crimski, who distinguished himself by his repeated victories over the Turks in the Crimea, and by the conquest of that peninsula. The models of several fortresses, which he besieged and took, are placed in the gardens; I particularly remarked those of Yenikale, Kerich, and Precopi.

While going over the house, the various reverses of fortune which have befallen the family of Dolgorucki, occurred forcibly to my recollection, especially when I surveyed the

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portrait of the princess Catharine Dolgorucki, whose adventures, so pathetically described by Mrs. Vigor *, afford one of the most affecting stories in the annals of history. That unfortunate princess, after having been torn from the person she loved, was betrothed against her inclination to the emperor Peter II. On his decease she became a momentary sovereign; but was almost as instantly hurried from the palace to a dungeon, where she languished during the whole reign of the empress Anne. Being at length released upon the accession of Elizabeth, she married count Bruce, and died without leaving any issue.

* See Letters from Russia, by a Lady.

C H A P. III.

Number of churches in Moscow.—Description of the most antient.—Their outward structure.—Interior divisions.—Worship of painted images.—Description of an enormous bell.—Principal buildings in the Kremlin.—Antient palace.—Convent of Tchudof.—Nunnery of Viesnovitskoi.—Cathedral of St. Michael.—Tombs and characters of the Tzars.—Genealogical tables of the sovereigns of Moscow of the house of Ruric.—Of different families.—Of the line of Romanof.

THE places of divine worship at Moscow are exceedingly numerous; including chapels, they amount to above a thousand: there are 484 public churches, of which 199 are of brick, and the others of wood; the former are commonly stuccoed or white-washed, the latter painted of a red colour.

The most antient churches of Moscow are generally square buildings, with a cupola and four small domes*, some whereof are of copper or iron gilt; others of tin, either plain or painted green. These cupolas and domes are for the most part ornamented with crosses entwined with thin chains or wires; each cross has two transverse bars†, the

* The church of the Holy Trinity, sometimes called the Church of Jerusalem, which stands in the Khitaigorod, close to the gate leading into the Kremlin, has a kind of high steeple and nine or ten domes: it was built in the reign of Ivan Vassilievitch II.

An engraving of that, as well as of some of the more antient churches, may be seen in Olearius and Le Brun's Travels.

† I am here describing the most antient churches; the modern crosses over those of St. Petersburg are mostly single.

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upper horizontal, the lower inclining; which, according to the supposition of many Russians, is supposed to have been the form of the real cross, and that our Saviour was nailed to it with his arms in an horizontal position, and one of the legs higher than the other. I frequently observed a crescent under the lower bar, the meaning of which no one could explain*.

The inside of the church is mostly composed of three parts; that called by the Greeks *trapeza*, by the Russians Trapeza; the body; and the sanctuary or shrine.

In the body of the church there are frequently four square pillars, very thick and heavy, for the purpose of supporting the cupola: these pillars, as well as the walls and cielings, are painted with innumerable representations of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and of different saints. Many of the figures are enormously large, and are executed in the rudest manner; some are daubed upon the bare walls; others upon large massive plates of silver or brass, or enclosed in frames of those metals. The head of each figure is invariably decked with a glory; which is a massy femicircle, greatly resembling an horse-shoe, of brass, silver, or gold, and sometimes composed almost entirely of pearls and precious stones. Some of the favourite saints are adorned with silken drapery fastened to the walls, and studded with jewels; some are painted upon a gold ground, and others are gilded in all parts but their face and hands.

* Dr. King accounts for the crescent in the following ingenious manner. "Some churches have a crescent under the cross; for when the Tartars, to whom Muscovy was subjected two hundred years, converted any of the churches into mosques for the use of their own religion, they fixed the crescent, the badge of Mahome-

"tanism upon them: and when the grand duke Ivan Basilovitch had delivered his country from the Tartar yoke, and restored those edifices to the Christian worship, he left the crescent remaining, and planted a cross upon it as a mark of its victory over its enemy." Rhes and Cérémonies of the Greek Church, p. 23.

Towards the extremity of the body of the church is a flight of steps leading to the shrine; and between these steps and the shrine is usually a platform, upon which the officiating minister stands and performs part of the service. CHAP. III.

The shrine or sanctuary is divided from the body of the church by the *Iconastus*, or skreen, generally the part the most richly ornamented, and on which the most holy pictures are painted or hung *. In its centre are the folding, called the holy, royal, or beautiful doors, which lead to the shrine, within which is the holy table, as Dr. King well describes it, "with four small columns to support a canopy over it; from which a *peristerion*, or dove, is suspended, as a symbol of the Holy Ghost; upon the holy table the cross is always laid, and the Gospel, and the pyxis, or box, in which a part of the consecrated elements is preserved, for visiting the sick or other purposes †."

It is contrary to the tenets of the Greek religion to admit a carved image within the churches, in conformity to the prohibition in Scripture, "Thou shalt not make to thyself a graven image," &c. By not considering, however, the prohibition as extending to representations by painting, the Greek canonists, while they have followed the letter, have departed from the spirit of the commandment; which positively forbids us to worship the likeness of any thing under whatever form, or in whatever manner it may be delineated: for if we transfer our adoration from the Creator to any ob-

* "On the north-side of the royal doors the picture of the Virgin is always placed, and that of Jesus on the south; next to which is that of the saint to whom the church is dedicated; the situation of the rest is indifferent. Candles or lamps are usually suspended before the images of

"Jesus and the Virgin, and several others, and sometimes kept perpetually burning." Dr. King on the Greek Church, p. 29; to which book I would refer the reader who desires further information on the subject.

† Ibid. p. 26.

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ject of his creation, it is of little consequence whether we bow down to the productions of the painter, or to those of the sculptor.

Over the door of each church is the portrait of the saint to whom it is dedicated, to which the common people pay their homage as they pass along, by taking off their hats, crossing themselves, and occasionally touching the ground with their heads, a ceremony which I often saw them repeat nine or ten times in succession.

Before I close the general description of the Russian churches, I must not forget their bells, which form, I may almost say, no inconsiderable part of divine worship in this country, as the length or shortness of their peals ascertains the greater or lesser sanctity of the day. They are hung in belfreys detached from the church: they do not swing like our bells, but are fixed immoveably to the beams, are rung by a rope tied to the clapper, and pulled sideways. Some of these bells are of a stupendous size: one in the tower of St. Ivan's church weighs 3551 Russian poods, or 127,836 English pounds. It has always been esteemed a meritorious act of religion to present a church with bells; and the piety of the donor has been measured by their magnitude. According to this mode of estimation, Boris Godunof, who gave a bell of 288,000 pounds to the cathedral of Moscow, was the most pious sovereign of Russia, until he was surpassed by the empress Anne, at whose expence a bell was cast weighing 43-,000 pounds, and which exceeds in bigness every bell in the known-world. Its size is so enormous, that I could scarcely have given credit to the account of its magnitude if I had not examined it myself, and ascertained its dimensions with great exactness. Its height is nineteen feet,

feet, its circumference at the bottom twenty-one yards eleven inches, its greatest thickness twenty-three inches *. CHAP.
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The beam to which this vast machine was fastened being accidentally burnt, the bell fell down, and a fragment was broken off towards the bottom, which left an aperture large enough to admit two persons a-breast without stooping.

Our inn being close to the walls of Kremlin, I had frequent opportunities of examining its principal buildings.

The palace, inhabited by the antient tzars, stands at the extremity of the Kremlin. Part of this palace is old, and remains in the same state in which it was built under Ivan Vassilievitch I. The remainder has been successively added at different intervals without any plan, and in various styles of architecture; which has produced a motley pile of building, remarkable for nothing but the incongruity of the several structures. The top is thickly set, with numerous little gilded spires and globes; and a large portion of the front is decorated with the arms of all the provinces, which compose the Russian empire. The apartments are in general exceedingly small, excepting one single room, called the council-chamber, in which the antient tzars used to give audience to foreign ambassadors; and which has been repeatedly described by several English travellers, who visited Moscow before the Imperial residence was transferred to Petersburg. The room is large and vaulted, and has in the centre an enormous pillar of stone, which supports the ceiling †.

* Mr. Hanway, in his travels, has given an accurate description and engraving of this bell.

† "The roof of the audience-chamber was arched and supported by a great pillar in the middle." Lord Carlisle's

Embassy, p. 149. In the feast which Alexey Michaelovitch gave to the Earl of Carlisle, this great pillar was adorned with a wonderful variety of gold and silver vessels, p. 292.

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The abbess politely accompanied us over the convent herself, and pointed out to us every object in the least degree worthy of attention. She first conducted us to the principal chapel, which contained the tombs of several tzarinas and princesses of the Imperial family. The tombs are a kind of stone coffins laid on the floor, and ranged in rows very near each other; some were inclosed with brass, and others with iron ballastrades, but the greatest number had no distinction of this sort. Each sepulchre was covered with a pall of crimson or black velvet, ornamented with an embroidered cross in the middle, and edged with a border of gold and silver lace. Over these, on great festivals, are laid other coverings of gold and silver tissue, richly studded with pearls and precious stones. The foundress of the convent is a saint, and is buried under the altar. The abbess very obligingly presented me with a MS. Russian account of the princesses, who are interred in the church. After we had fully examined these repositories of the dead, and surveyed the rich vestments of the priests, and the figures of various saints painted on the walls, the abbess invited us into her apartments. She led the way; and at the top of the stairs, as we entered the anti-chamber, struck the floor two or three blows with her ivory-handled cane, when instantaneously a chorus of about twenty nuns received us with hymns, which they continued singing as long as we staid: the melody was not unpleasing. In an adjoining room tea was served to the company, and a table was plentifully spread with pickled herrings, slices of salt fish, cheese, bread, butter, and cakes: champagne and *liqueurs* were tendered by the abbess herself. After we had partaken of these refreshments, we attended the abbess through the apartments of the nuns, many of whom were employed

employed in embroidering sacerdotal habits for the archbishop of Moscow, and we took our leave.

The nuns wore a long robe of black stuff, black veils, black forehead-cloth, and black wrappers under the chin, which made them look very dismal and pale. The abbess was distinguished by a robe of black silk. The nuns are totally prohibited from meat, living chiefly upon fish, eggs, and vegetables. In other respects the order is not rigid, and they are allowed to pay occasional visits in the town.

I have already had occasion to mention the great number of churches contained in this city. The Kremlin is not without its share; in a small compass I counted eight almost contiguous to each other. Two of these churches, namely that of St. Michael, and that of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, are remarkable; the one for being the place where the sovereigns of Russia were formerly interred; and the other where they are crowned. These edifices are both in the same style of architecture, and were probably constructed by Solarius of Milan, who built the walls of the Kremlin. Though the architect was obliged to conform his taste to the models of ecclesiastical buildings at that time used in Russia, yet their exterior form is not absolutely inelegant, although it is an oblong square, and much too high in proportion to the breadth.

In the cathedral of St. Michael I viewed the tombs of the Russian sovereigns. The bodies are not, as with us, deposited in vaults, or beneath the pavement, but are entombed in raised sepulchres, mostly of brick, in the shape of a coffin, and about two feet in height. When I visited the cathedral, the most antient were covered with palls of red cloth, others of red velvet, and that of Peter II. with gold tissue*, bordered

* Upon great festivals all the sepulchres are covered with rich palls of gold or silver brocade, studded with pearls and jewels.

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dered with silver fringe and ermine. Each tomb has at its lower extremity a small silver plate, upon which is engraved the name of the deceased sovereign, and the age of his death.

From the time that Moscow has been the Imperial residence to the close of the last century, all the tzars have been interred in this cathedral, excepting Boris Godunof, whose remains are deposited in the convent of the Holy Trinity, the tzar under the name of Demetrius†, who was destroyed in a tumult, and Vassili Shuiski, who died in captivity at Warsaw.

The tomb of Ivan Vassilievitch I. claimed my principal attention, who may justly be esteemed the founder of the Russian greatness. At his accession to the throne in 1462, Russia formed a collection of petty principalities engaged in perpetual wars with each other, some of them nominally subject to the great-duke of Moscow, and all of them, together with that monarch himself, tributary to the Tartars‡.

Ivan, in the course of a prosperous reign of above forty years, gave a new aspect to the Russian affairs: he annexed to his dominions the duchies of Tver and other neighbouring principalities, subdued Novogorod, and, what was still more glorious and beneficial, he rescued this country from

* See Chapter VI.

† See Chap. VII.

‡ The servitude of the great-duke will best appear from the following circumstances, recorded by Cromer the Polish historian. "Whenever the Tartar ambassadors were sent to Moscow, in order to collect the accustomed tribute, the great-duke used to meet them, and offer, as a mark of his respect, a cup of

"milk, and if a drop chanced to fall upon the mane of the horse, on which the Tartar ambassador was sitting, he would himself lick it up. When they reached the hall of audience, the ambassadors read the khan's letter seated upon a carpet of the choicest furs, while the great-duke, with his nobles knelt, and listened in respectful silence." *Cromer, l. 29. p. 647.*

the Tartar yoke, and refused the payment of the ignominious tribute, which for above a century had been exacted from his predecessors. He had no sooner delivered Russia from this dependence, than his alliance was courted by many European sovereigns; and during his reign Moscow saw, for the first time, ambassadors from the emperor of Germany, from the pope, the grand-signor, from the kings of Poland and Denmark, and from the republic of Venice.

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The talents of this able monarch were not confined to military achievements: Russia was indebted to him for the improvement of her commerce, and for opening a more ready communication with the European nations. Under his auspices, the knowledge of gunpowder and the art of casting cannon was first brought into Russia by Aristotle of Bologna*: he employed the same artist†, as well as other foreigners, to strike anew the Russian coins, which had hitherto been disfigured by Tartar inscriptions; he engaged, at a vast expence, Italian artists to enclose the Kremlins of Moscow and Novogorod with walls of brick, and to construct several churches and other public structures with the same materials‡. For his various civil and military services he deservedly acquired the name of the *Great*. He is described as a person of gigantic stature and ferocious aspect. His manners and deportment, strongly infected with the barbarism of his age and country, were somewhat softened and polished by the example of his second wife Sophia§, a Grecian princess

* Bächmeister's Essai sur la Bib. de Peterf. p. 28.

† Possévinus.

‡ A vast effort in these barbarous times, and which deserves to be mentioned, because at his accession to the throne almost all the buildings of Moscow were of wood.

§ Sophia was daughter of Thomas Palæologus, brother of Constantine the last Grecian emperor, who lost his life when Constantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453. Soon after that event Sophia repaired to Rome with her father, where they lived under the protection of the pope.

The

princes of consummate beauty and winning address; who, to all the softer graces of her sex added a vigorous and manly spirit; and who, while she infused into her husband a taste for the arts of peace, animated him to those glorious enterprizes which tended to the aggrandizement of his country.

Ivan the Great died in 1505, in the 67th year of his age: on each side of his remains are deposited those of his father Vassili Vassilievitch, surnamed The Blind*; and of his son Vassili Ivanovitch, who succeeded him in the throne, and expired in 1533.

In a small chapel adjoining to these tombs is the sepulchre of Ivan Vassilievitch II. † son and successor of Vassili Ivanovitch. This sovereign is branded by many writers with the name of *tyrant*, and represented as the most odious monster that ever disgraced human nature. In delineating, however, his general character, they are sometimes guilty of falsehood ‡, and often of exaggeration, and seem totally to forget many

The latter is said to have negotiated her marriage with the great duke, and even to have bestowed her portion, in hopes of procuring, through her influence, great advantages to the Roman catholic religion in Russia. But these hopes were frustrated; for Sophia, immediately upon her marriage in 1482, embraced the Greek religion. She encouraged her husband in shaking off the Tartar yoke; and probably assisted him in procuring the ablest architects from Italy. See Herberstein, in *Reer. Mos. Comm.* p. 7, also *Paul. Jovii De Leg. Mos.*—*Ibid.* p. 120.

* He received the appellation of The Blind, because his eyes had been put out by order of his uncle, who, having formerly deposed him, practised this cruel expedient in order to disqualify him from re-ascending the throne. He was afterwards, however, re-instated in the sovereignty by the action of his subjects.

† Called, by the English writers, John Basilovitz.

‡ Thus some writers assert, that when he walked out, or made a progress through his dominions, if he met any one whose mien displeased him, he would order his head to be struck off, or do it himself.

Others as absurdly relate, that he would order bears to be let loose upon a crowd of people assembled in the streets of Moscow, and diverted himself with the cries and agonies of the persons devoured by those ferocious animals.

Olearius informs us, that Ivan wantonly commanded the eyes of the architect, who built the church of the Holy Trinity at Moscow, to be put out, that he might never construct any building of superior beauty.

These idle tales confute themselves; but the following report we are able to contradict from our own history. Ivan is said to have

many great qualities which he certainly possessed. Though we should not give implicit credit to many idle reports which are related of his savageness and inhumanity; yet it would be equally as absurd, and contrary to historical evidence, to deny or attempt to apologise for many cruelties * actually committed by this monarch, who, no more than Peter the Great, reckoned clemency among the number of his virtues.

But while we regard the ferocity and implacability of his temper with abhorrence, we cannot refuse the tribute of admiration to his political character. He raised the superstructure of the Russian grandeur, of which his grandfather had laid the foundation. Instead of a desultory militia, collected in haste, and always impatient to disband, he instituted a standing army; he abolished the use of the bow, hitherto the principal weapon among the Russians; he trained them to fire-arms, and accustomed them to a more regular discipline. By means of this formidable body, he extended his dominions on all sides, and particularly conquered the kingdoms of Casan and Astrachan, and rendered the Russian name respectable to the distant powers of Europe. He gave to his subjects the first code of written laws; he invited foreign artists † to Moscow; he introduced printing into Russia; he promoted commerce, and regulated the duties of export and import; he permitted English merchants to esta-

have ordered the hat of the English ambassador, Sir Jérôme Bowes, to be nailed to his head, because he refused to take it off in the tzar's presence.

This report was occasioned by the exaggerated account of a misunderstanding between the tzar and Sir Jérôme Bowes, which is related in the ambassador's dispatches. Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages, vi. l. p. 460, &c.

* Instances of which the reader will find

in the 6th chap. of this Book, and the 2d of Book IV.

† Above three hundred artists of all professions, namely, painters, sculptors, architects, watch-makers, casters of bells, miners, armourers, stationers, masons, &c. have already arrived at Lubec in their way to Moscow, but were prevented from proceeding by the intrigues of the inhabitants of Lubec, and the natives of Livonia. See Bachmeister's *Essai sur la Bib.* &c. p. 32.

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blish factories within his dominions, and, with a liberality not always practised by more enlightened sovereigns, granted to them the free exercise of their religion; he had even formed the design, which death alone prevented, of instituting various seminaries for the cultivation of the Latin and German languages. In a word, he may fairly be esteemed one of those sovereigns, who have contributed to improve and civilize their subjects.

Ivan Vassilievitch II. died in 1584, in an agony of grief at the death of his eldest son Ivan, whose remains are placed contiguous to those of his father. Historians have recorded, that this prince received his death, from the person to whom he was indebted for his life, by an unfortunate blow upon his temple. The enemies of the tzar have not failed to impute this melancholy catastrophe to design; while his apologists have no less strenuously laboured to represent it as merely accidental. Upon weighing these discordant accounts with impartiality, it appears, that the blow was either casual, or, if designed to chastise, certainly not intended to be fatal.

Feodor, the second son and successor of Ivan Vassilievitch II. is interred in the same chapel; a prince of such weak intellects and notorious incapacity, as to be a mere phantom of sovereignty, and entirely under the direction of his brother-in-law Boris Godunof. Feodor ascended the throne in 1584, and expired in 1598: in him ended the male line of the sovereigns of the house of Ruric*, a family who had reigned over Russia for a period of more than seven centuries.

Among the tombs in this church, the most remarkable is that which contains the body of a child, supposed by the

* Unless Demetrius was the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch II.

Russians to have been the third son of Ivan Vassilievitch II, who is said to have been assassinated at Vglitz, in the ninth year of his age, by order of Boris Godunof. This tomb, which is more distinguished than those of the Russian sovereigns, is of brass and highly ornamented. The child is classed among the saints of the Russian calendar, and, according to the legends of the church, his body is said to have performed miracles, and is believed by the credulous to remain uncorrupted. The top of the sepulchre is frequently uncovered, and, during divine service on the festival of St. Alexander Nevski, I observed several Russians kissing the inside with great marks of devotion. The history of the assassination at Vglitz, and the adventures of the real or pretended Demetrius, who filled the throne for a short time, require a separate narrative.

The sovereigns of the house of Romanof are interred in the body of the church: their tombs are placed on each side between the massy pillars, which support the roof.

The first of this illustrious line is Michael Feodorovitch, whose election in 1613 put a final period to a long scene of civil bloodshed, and restored tranquillity to his distracted country. He owed his elevation to his high rank and princely descent; but more particularly to the virtues, abilities, and popularity of his father Philaretus. A body of Russian nobles having tendered the crown to Ladislaus prince of Poland, that prince had actually assumed the title of czar, and established a garrison at Moscow: soon afterwards a powerful party, averse to the government of a foreigner, expelled the Poles from the capital, and unanimously advanced Michael to the throne, though at that time scarcely seventeen years of age. It is singular, that he was raised to

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this high station, not only without his knowledge, but even in repugnance to his own inclination. When the deputies from Moscow arrived at Costroma, where he at that time resided with his mother, and acquainted him with his election; Michael, recollecting the dreadful catastrophes which had befallen all the tzars since the demise of Feodor Ivanovitch, and reflecting on the present distracted state of Russia, burst into tears; and for a while declined the proffered crown, which seemed to entail destruction upon those who had ventured to wear it *. Overcome, however, by the importunities of the deputies, and partly dazzled with the splendour of royalty, Michael at length yielded to the wishes of his country; and repairing without delay to Moscow, was crowned with the usual solemnities. Though he ascended the throne with reluctance, he filled it with dignity; and found a protection from those disasters which overwhelmed his immediate predecessors, in his own discretion, in the wise counsels of his father, and in the affection of his subjects. Michael died in 1648, after a prosperous reign of 28 years.

Alexey Michaelovitch his son, whose ashes lie contiguous to his remains, is chiefly known by foreigners as the father of Peter the Great; but he deserves likewise our attention for his own public virtues, and for a variety of salutary institutions. He revised, amended, and new-modelled the code of laws compiled by Ivan Vassilievitch II.; he introduced a more regular discipline into the army; and invited † foreign officers into his service; he procured from Amsterdam several ship-builders, whom he employed in construct-

* See Busching's Account of the Election of Michael. Hist. M. II. p. 403.

† Mayerberg says, among the foreign officers in the service of Alexey Michaelovitch,

were two generals, two field marshals, more than an hundred colonels, majors, captains, lieutenants, and ensigne in proportion.

ing vessels for the navigation of the Caspian Sea ; in a word, he traced the great outlines of many of those regulations which were afterwards improved and enlarged by the vast genius of his son Peter the Great. Alexèy deceased in 1676, in the 32d year of his reign, and the 49th of his age.

Opposite to the sepulchre of Alexèy are those of his sons Feodor and Ivan : Feodor, who succeeded his father in the throne, has been described by Voltaire and others as a prince who possessed a vigorous mind in a weak frame, and whose administration was dignified with many useful and glorious regulations. The truth is, however, that incapacity, no less than ill-health, disqualified him from conducting the affairs of government ; that he actually resigned himself to the direction of his sister Sophia ; and that all the beneficial acts of his administration must be ascribed to her influence, and to the abilities of his prime minister the great Galitzin. Feodor, after a short reign of six years, sunk in 1682 under the disorders which had long preyed upon his frame.

Ivan, second brother of Feodor, and rightful heir of the throne, was so debilitated by epileptic fits, both in body and mind*, that he was at first excluded from the succession as incapable of discharging the functions of government, but was afterwards recognized as joint-sovereign with his half-brother Peter the Great ; he was considered merely as a puppet, held up to satisfy the multitude, and to secure to his adherents a share in the administration of affairs. He was allowed to

* Schleiffing, who was at Moscow during the administration of Sophia, thus describes the person of Ivan. " Ivan Alexèy, the eldest czar, is ill-formed by nature, inso-
" much that he can neither rightly see,
" read, or speak. He always wears a piece
" of green silk before his eyes, in order to
" prevent the upper part of his face from

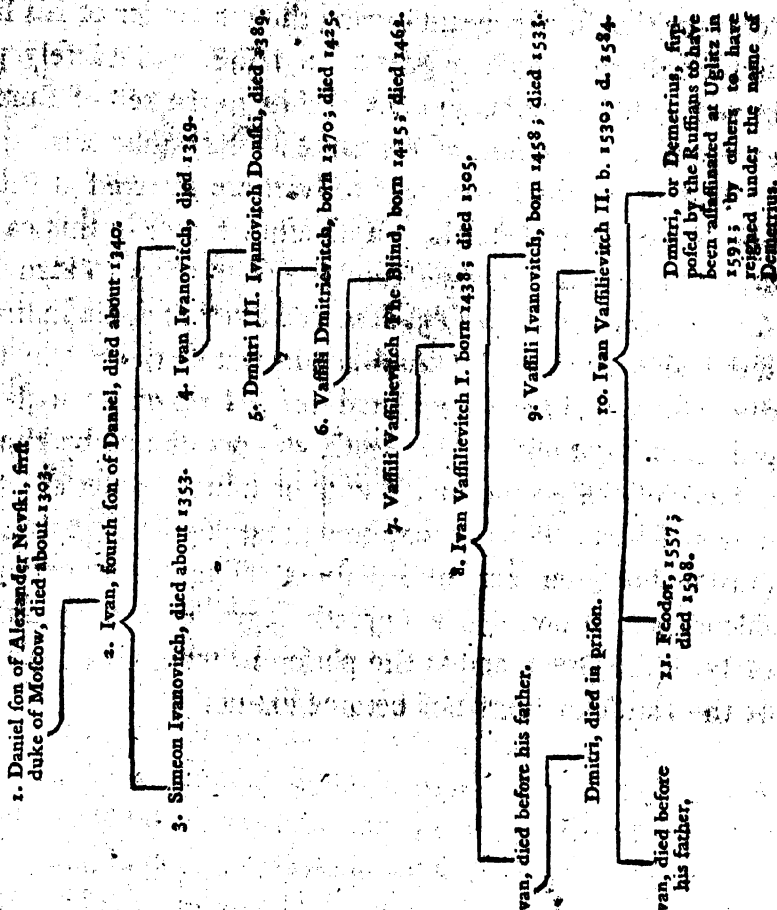
" being seen on account of its deformity.
" But he is very pious and devout ; and as,
" on account of his weak constitution, he
" cannot hunt, or take any violent exercise,
" he is the more constant in his attendance
" at church, and never misses a procession.
" He is short in his person, very thin, and
" is now 30 years of age."

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continue this state-pageant during the remainder of his life; and his death, which happened in 1698, was scarcely perceived by his subjects, and not known to the rest of Europe, except by the omission of his name in the public acts.

The sovereigns subsequent to Ivan are interred at Peterburgh, excepting Peter II. whose ashes repose in this cathedral. This monarch, the son of the unfortunate Tzarovitch Alexey, was born in 1715, succeeded in 1727, Catharine I. and died in 1730 of the small-pox in this city, on the very day which had been appointed for his marriage with the princess Dolgorucki. His death was occasioned by the ignorance of the physicians, who treated his disorder as a malignant fever. Peter II. acquired great popularity by fixing, during the latter part of his short reign, his imperial residence at Moscow. He was greatly regretted as the grandson of Peter the Great; and as the person in whom the male line of the House of Romanof became extinct.

SOVEREIGNS of Moscow of the House of RURIK.



TZARS of different Families.

13. Boris Godunof, elected Tzar 1598; died in 1605. His son Feodor, proclaimed Tzar in April by his father's party, and put to death in June, can scarcely be classed among the Russian sovereigns.
- Dmitri, or Demetrius, the False Demetrius of the Russians, by others called the son of Ivan Vassilievitch II. ascended the throne in June, 1605; assassinated May, 1606.
- Vassili Ivanovitch Shvitski, elected Tzar upon the assassination of Demetrius in 1606; deposed in 1610; died in captivity at Warsaw.

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SOVEREIGNS of RUSSIA of the House of ROMANOF.

I. Michael Feodorovitch, elected Tzar 1613; died 1633.

II. Alexey Michailovitch, died 1676, married 1. Sofia; 2. Lihsna Miloslavsky; 2. Natalia Kirilofna Nariskin.

III. Feodor Alexievitch, born 1651; died 1682.

IV. Ivan Alexievitch, born 1666; died 1695; married Prokoria Solitkov.

Sophia, died 1704; Alexey had many other daughters, who all died unmarried.

IV. Peter the Great, by Natalia, born 1672; died 1725; mar. 1. Eudokia Lapulkin; 2. V. Catharine, who was born about 1689; Empress 1725; died 1727.

Catharine Ivanofna, died 1733; married Charles Leopold duke of Mecklenburgh.

VII. Anne Isanofna, born 1694; Empress 1730; died 1740; married Frederick William duke of Courland.

Alexey Petrovitch, born by Eudokia, born 1691; died 1718; married Charlotte princess of Brunswick.

Anne Petrofna, by Catharine, b. 1707; died 1710; married Charles Frederick duke of Holstein-Gottorp.

IX. Elizabeth, by Catharine, b. 1709; died 1762; married 1741; d. 1761.

Anne, Regent of Russia, 1740; died in prison at Kholmogori 1746; married Anthony Ulric brother to the duke of Brunswick. Anthony died 1782.

VIII. Ivan, born and Emperor 1740; deposed 1741; put to death at Schlusfeldburgh 1764.

VI. Peter II. Alexievitch, born 1715; Emperor 1727; died 1730.

X. Peter III. born 1728; Emperor 1761; deposed and died 1762; married XI. Catharine II. princess of Anhalt-Zerbst the present Empress, born 1729.

Paul Petrovitch, born 1754; married 2. Natalia princess of Hesse-Darmstadt; 2. Maria princess of Wurtemberg Stogard.

Alexander, born 1777.

Constantine, born 1779.

C.H.A.P.

C H A P. IV.

Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in the Kremlin.

—Tombs of the Russian patriarchs.—Origin and abolition of the patriarchal dignity.—Account of the patriarch Philaretos father of the house of Romanof.—Biographical anecdotes of the patriarch Nikon.

ANOTHER church in the Kremlin, namely, the cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, which has long been appropriated to the coronation of the Russian sovereigns, remains to be described. This church is the most splendid and magnificent in Moscow. The screen is in many parts covered with plates of solid silver and gold richly worked. From the centre of the roof hangs an enormous chandelier of massy silver, weighing 2940 pounds: it was made in England, and was a present from Morosof, prime-minister and favourite of Alexey Michaelovitch. The sacred utensils and episcopal vestments are extraordinarily rich, but the taste of the workmanship is in general rude, and by no means equal to the materials. CHAP.
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Many of the paintings which cover the inside walls are of a Colossal size: some are very antient, and were executed so early as in the latter end of the fifteenth century. It contains, amongst the rest, a head of the Virgin, supposed to have been delineated by St. Luke, and greatly celebrated in this country for its sanctity and the power of working miracles. Its face is almost black; its head is ornamented with a glory of precious stones, and its hands and body are gilded, which

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which gives it a most grotesque appearance. It is placed in the skreen, and enclosed within a large silver covering, which is only taken off on great festivals, or for the curiosity of strangers. This picture is more antient than the other paintings: according to the tradition of the church, it was brought from Greece to Kiof when that city was the residence of the Russian sovereigns; from thence it was conveyed to Volodimir, and afterwards transferred to Moscow. It seems a Grecian painting, and was probably anterior to the revival of that art in Italy*.

In this cathedral are deposited the remains of the Russian patriarchs.

* I saw several paintings of the Virgin in the north of Italy similar to this: a few were said to be the productions of St. Luke, others of Cimabue, or his scholars. The complexion in these was likewise of a dusky hue, and plainly from the fancy of the painters. This leads me to imagine that the Grecian painters originally represented the Virgin of a dark complexion, which was copied by the earliest Italian artists, Cimabue and his immediate scholars, who received the art from the Greeks. Le Bruyn, speaking of this picture of St. Luke at Moscow, says, "It is very gloomy and almost black; but whether this proceeds from the effects of time, or the smoke of tapers, or the fancy of the painter; certain it is, there is no great matter in it." &c. Travels, v. I. p. 70. An ingenious author, in a late publication, mentions in the monastery of Monte-Virgine, a Colossal portrait of the Virgin Mary, which passes for the work of St. Luke the Evangelist, and adds, "There are in Italy and elsewhere some dozens of black, ugly Madonnas, which all pass for the work of his hands, and as such are revered." To which passage he subjoins the following note, but without citing his authority:

"The origin of this fable, or rather mistake, appears to be, that about the time that paintings of holy subjects came into fashion, there lived at Constantinople a painter called Luke, who, by many representations of the Virgin, acquired a very transcendent reputation. He was a man of exemplary life, and on account of his piety, and the edifying use he made of his talents, was generally known by the name of the Holy Luke. In process of time, when the epocha and circumstances of his life were forgotten by the vulgar, and his performances had acquired by age a smoky, dusky cast, sufficient to perplex the short-sighted conceits of those days, devotees ascribed his pictures to the Evangelist, who was pronounced a painter, because they knew of no other saint of the name, and because if he had been a painter, no one could have had such opportunities of examining and delineating the features of the holy model." Swinburne's Travels in the Two Sicilies, p. 123. For proof of the introduction of painting into Russia and Italy by the Greeks, see the Description of the Cathedral of St. Sophia at Novogorod.

The

The first of these was Job, before whose time the primate of the Russian church was suffragan to the patriarch of Constantinople. Job, being metropolitan archbishop of Moscow, was, in the year 1588, installed in this cathedral patriarch of Russia, by Jeremias patriarch of Constantinople, with all due solemnities. The ceremony of translating the see from the capital of Turkey to this city is thus described by an author, who was himself present *.

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“On the 25th of January, 1588, the Greek patriarch, accompanied with the Russian cleargie, went to the great church of Precheste, or our Ladie, within the Emperour’s castle, where he made an oration, and delivered his resignation in an instrument of writing, and so laid down his patriarchal staffe; which was presently received by the metropolitane of Mosko, and divers other ceremonies used about the inauguration of the new patriarch.”

The most venerable of Job’s successors in the patriarchal see was Philaretus, who, though no sovereign himself, is celebrated as being father to that line of Russian monarchs, distinguished by the name of the House of Romanof†. His secular name was Feodor: he drew his lineage from Andrew, a Prussian prince, who came into Russia about the

* Fletcher’s Russia, Chap. 21. This author adds, that Jeremias, whom he calls Hieronimo, had been either banished from Constantinople by the Turks, or deposed by the Greek clergy, that he came to Moscow without any invitation from the Russians, in order to obtain money from the czar Feodor Ivanovitch, and that with this view he proposed the translation of the patriarchal see from Constantinople to Moscow.

Others deny that he was either deposed or banished; and relate, that the czar hav-

ing formally demanded the consent of the four patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, to the establishment of a new patriarch in Russia, they acceded to the request, and solemnly deputed Jeremias to Moscow, who invested the metropolitan Job with the new dignity. King on the Greek Church, p. 496.

† In consequence of a custom prevalent among the Russians to adopt the appellation of the grandfather for a family name, the new royal line was called Romanof, in honour of Roman, Feodor’s grandfather.

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middle of the fourteenth century, and whose immediate descendants enjoyed the most considerable honours and the highest offices under the sovereigns of this country. Feodor was son of Nikita Romanovitch, great grandson of Andrew, and nephew of Anastasia first wife of Ivan Vassilievitch II. By the will of that monarch he was, in conjunction with two other noblemen, appointed to superintend the administration of government under Feodor Ivanovitch, who was extremely deficient in his understanding; but supplanted by the arts of Boris Godunof, whose sister had espoused the young tzar, he was excluded from all share in the direction of affairs during the whole reign of that weak prince. When Boris himself was elevated to the throne, the high birth, great abilities, and popularity of Feodor Romanof rendered him so obnoxious to the new monarch, that he was compelled to assume the priesthood, and was confined in a monastery; when, according to the Russian custom, he changed his name to Philaretos.

1605.

Upon the accession of the sovereign, whom the Russians call the False Demetrius, he was released from his confinement, and appointed to the archbishoprick of Rostof; but in this period of his life he seemed doomed to a succession of imprisonments. Soon after the deposition of Vassili Shuiski, when a strong party among the nobles had agreed to elect Ladislaus, son of Sigismond III. king of Poland, tzar of Russia, Philaretos was, in 1610, dispatched at the head of an embassy to Sigismond, in order to settle the conditions of his son's election. He found the Polish monarch engaged in the siege of Smolensko; and when the king demanded the immediate cession of that town; Philaretos warmly returned, "When your son has ascended our throne, he will possess

" not only Smolensko, but all Russia; and it ill becomes you

" to

* to dismember his territories." Sigismund, exasperated at this spirited reply, and still farther inflamed by the remonstrances which Philaretes and the ambassadors urged against his conduct towards Russia, arrested and threw them into prison. Philaretes languished nine years in the castle of Marienburgh *, in Prussia, under a most rigorous confinement, during which even many of the common necessaries were frequently withheld from him. His absence, however, did not diminish the respect and veneration which the Russians entertained for his character: the whole nation unanimously conferred the crown upon his son Michael, a youth only in the seventeenth year of his age, in hopes that a peace with Poland would restore Philaretes to his country, and render him the director of that power with which they had invested his son. This expectation was gratified at the peace of Viasna, concluded in 1719, between Russia and Poland, which gave Philaretes to the wishes of the people. Immediately upon his arrival at Moscow he was consecrated patriarch, and became the real, though not the ostensible, sovereign of this country, as the son may be said to have held the reins of government under his absolute direction. He was invested with the administration of affairs; his name was frequently associated in the public acts with that of the czar †; he gave audience to ambassadors ‡; and upon many public occasions was permitted to take precedence of his son §. His experience, moderation, and abilities, rendered him worthy of these high honours, and this unbounded authority; and the prosperity of Michael's reign proclaimed the wisdom of his sage monitor. Philaretes died

* Buching. Hist. Mag. v. II. p. 401.

† Buching. Hist. Mag. v. VII. p. 329.

† Schmid. Russ. Gef. v. II. p. 13.

§ Olearius.

BOOK III. in 1633 in an advanced age, regretted by his son and the whole kingdom.

The last of these patriarchs was Adrian, at whose demise, in 1699, Peter, attentive to the true interests of his crown, could never be prevailed upon to nominate a successor; and in 1721 the patriarchal dignity was formally abolished.

In a former chapter I observed, that there are no seats in the Russian churches, the ceremonial of the Greek worship requiring all persons to stand during the performance of divine service. In this cathedral, sacred to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, I observed two elevated places near the screen, enclosed with rails without seats: one of them is appropriated to the sovereign, the other was formerly destined for the patriarch, whose state and grandeur were in some instances not inferior to those of the czar himself. Upon some public occasion the archbishop of Novogorod, who aspired to have the patriarchal dignity revived in his person, pointing to the place formerly occupied by the patriarch, remarked to Peter, "Sire, that structure is now useless; will not your majesty order it to be removed?" Peter was silent; but upon the archbishop's repeating the question, turned to him and said, "That place shall not be removed, nor shall you fill it."

The Russians reckon eleven patriarchs from the first establishment of the dignity in the person of Job, to its final abolition after the death of Adrian. Of these the greatest and most conspicuous was the celebrated Nikon, whom, as he is the only patriarch not interred in this cathedral, I could not mention upon contemplating their tombs. It is hoped that no apology needs be offered for the following account of a man, whom some Russians still abhor as Antichrist, and others

others adore as a saint; and whose extraordinary character has never been faithfully represented to the English reader. CHAP.
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Nicon was born in 1613, in a village of the government of Nishnei Novogorod, of such obscure parents, that their names and station are not transmitted to posterity. He received, at the baptismal font, the name of Nikita, which afterwards, when he became monk, he changed to Nicon, the appellation by which he is more generally known. He was educated in the convent of St. Macarius, under the care of a monk. From the course of his studies, which were almost solely directed to the Holy Scriptures, and the exhortations of his preceptor, he imbibed, at a very early period, the strongest attachment to a monastick life; and was only prevented from following the bent of his mind by the persuasions and authority of his father. In conformity, however, to the wishes of his family, though contrary to his own inclination, he entered into matrimony; and, as that state precluded him from being admitted into a convent, he was ordained a secular priest.

With his wife he passed ten years; first as a parish-priest in some country village, and afterwards at Moscow in the same capacity; but losing three children, whom he tenderly loved, his disgust for the world and his propensity to solitude returned with redoubled violence; and, having persuaded his wife to take the veil, he entered into the monastick order. He chose for his own retreat a small island of the White-Sea, inhabited only by a few persons, who formed a kind of ecclesiastical establishment, as remarkable for the solitude of their situation as for the austerity of their rules: about twelve monks dwelled in separate cells scattered at equal distances from each other*, and from the church which stood

* Two versts, or a mile and an half.

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in the center of the island. These lonely cenobites assembled regularly on Saturday evening in the church, where they assisted in the performance of divine service during the whole night, and the next day until noon, when they retired to their respective habitations. This practice was repeated on certain festivals; while at other times each recluse occupied his cell undisturbed by any mutual intercourse. Their food was bread, and fish which they caught themselves, or procured from parts of the contiguous continent.

Such was the situation which Nikon adopted as congenial to the gloomy state of his own mind; where, brooding in solitude upon the uncertainty of human life, he was unhappily led to consider the most debasing austerities as acceptable to the Supreme Being; and necessarily contracted that cloistered pride, which gave an alloy to his sublime virtues, and which proved the greatest defect in his character, when afterwards called upon to fulfil the duties of a publick and exalted station.

After a short residence in this island, Nikon was chosen to accompany the chief of the ecclesiastical establishment to Moscow, in order to raise a collection for the building of a new church. He was scarcely returned from this expedition, when, at the instigation of the chief, whom he had offended during his journey, he was compelled by the other monks to retire from the island: he embarked in an open boat, with only a single person to assist him, in an high sea; being overtaken by a violent storm, he was tossed about and in continual danger of perishing, but was at length driven upon an island near the mouth of the Onega.

From this island he repaired to a monastery upon the contiguous continent; and being admitted into the society, instead of inhabiting an apartment in the convent, he, in imitation of his former solitude, constructed a separate cell

on an adjacent island, where he lived upon the fish that he caught with his own hands, and never visited the monastery but during the time of divine service. By this reclusive and rigid way of life he was held in such high esteem by the brethren, that upon the death of their superior they unanimously raised him to the vacant dignity. He continued in this capacity for three years, when, being drawn by some family affairs to Moscow, he was casually presented to the tzar Alexey Michaelovitch; that monarch was so captivated with his various talents, extensive learning, and natural eloquence, that he detained him at Moscow, and took him under his immediate protection. Within less than the space of five years he was successively created archimandrite or abbot of the Novospatskoi convent, archbishop of Novogorod, and patriarch of Russia. He deserved these rapid promotions by a rare assemblage of extraordinary qualities, which even his enemies allow him to have possessed, undaunted courage, irreproachable morals, exalted charity, comprehensive learning, and commanding eloquence.

While archbishop of Novogorod, to which dignity he was raised in 1649, he gave a memorable instance of his firmness and discretion. During a tumult in that city, the Imperial governor, prince Feodor Kilkof, took refuge in the archiepiscopal palace against the fury of the insurgents; who, bursting open the gates, threatened instant pillage if the governor was not delivered to them without delay. Nikon, instead of acceding to their demand, boldly advanced into the midst of them, and exhorted them to peace. The populace, inflamed to madness by the prelate's appearance, transferred their rage from the governor to him; assaulted him with stones, dragged him by the hair, and offered every species of violence and indignity to his person. Being conveyed

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veyed to the palace in a state of insensibility, he was recovered by immediate assistance; but, regardless of the imminent danger from which he had just escaped, he persisted in his resolution, either to appease the tumult, or perish in the attempt. With this design, as if devoting himself to certain death, he confessed and received the sacrament, and repaired to the town-house, where the insurgents were assembled. He confounded them by his presence; softened them into repentance by a firm, but pathetic, address; and, persuading them to disperse, tranquillity was instantly restored to the town, which the moment before had exhibited a scene of confusion and uproar.

This calm, however, was of no long duration: the sedition, which had been thus allayed by the spirit and eloquence of Nikon, being fomented by the ringleaders of the tumult, broke into open rebellion; many of the inhabitants renounced their allegiance to the czar, and proposed to deliver the town into the hands of the king of Poland. The prelate, however, not daunted by this change in their sentiments, did not discontinue his efforts to bring them back to their duty: his remonstrances and exhortations were gradually attended with success; many flocked to his palace, desiring his intercession with their enraged sovereign; and though the remainder of the insurgents blocked up all the avenues to the town, yet he contrived, at the peril of his life, to send information to the czar. Being armed, by a commission from Moscow, with full authority, he, with a proper degree of vigour, yet without the effusion of blood, finally quelled the rebellion. To him was remitted the trial of the rebels, and the absolute disposal of life and death; an office which he executed with as much judgement as lenity. Only the leader of the sedition was punished with death; ten of his most
mutinous

nautious adherents were knotted and banished : and a few others were condemned to a short imprisonment. Nikon nobly overlooked and forgave the outrage committed against his own person ; and in chastizing the public offence tempered the severity of justice with the feelings of humanity.

He obtained the respect of the inhabitants by the unwearied assiduity with which he performed the functions of his archiepiscopal office ; and conciliated their affection by acts of unbounded charity. During a dreadful famine he appropriated the revenues of his see to the relief of the poor ; he constructed alms-houses for widows, old men, and orphans : he was the great patron of the indigent ; and the zealous protector of the lower class of men against the oppressions of the great.

He was no less conspicuous in the vigilant discharge of the high duties of his patriarchal office, to which he was appointed in 1652, only in the 39th year of his age. He instituted seminaries for the instruction of priests in the Greek and Latin languages ; he enriched the patriarchal library with many rare ecclesiastical and classical manuscripts drawn from a convent at Mount Athros : by a diligent revival of the Holy Scriptures, and a collation of the various editions of the Old and New Testament, perceiving that many errors had crept into the printed copies of the Bible and Liturgy used for divine service ; he prevailed upon the czar to summon a general council of the Greek church at Moscow, in which he presided. By his arguments, authority, and influence, it was determined that the most antient Slavonian version of the Bible was exact, and that the errors with which the later copies abounded should be corrected. He inspected and superintended the printing of a new edition of the Slavonian Bible, which was become so rare as

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not to be purchased at any price. He removed from the churches the pictures of deceased persons, to which many of the Russians offered the most blind adoration; he abolished a few ceremonies which had been carried to a most superstitious excess: in a word, his labours tended more to the reformation of the church, than the united efforts of all his predecessors in the patriarchal see.

Nor did he solely distinguish himself in his professional duties; but shewed himself no less qualified in a civil capacity. Notwithstanding the course of his studies hitherto solely confined to ecclesiastical subjects, and the recluseness of his former life which seemed to have impeded the attainment of political knowledge, yet he was no sooner called to a public station, than his abilities expanded in proportion as the objects which they embraced became more numerous and important: his sagacity, sharpened by continual application, soon rendered him master of the most intricate affairs of government; taught him to comprehend and discriminate a variety of the most opposite interests; and to adopt that decisive line of conduct which marks the great and enlightened statesman. Being consulted by the czar upon all occasions, he soon became the soul of his councils*; and gained the ascendancy in the cabinet by the splendour of his reasoning, and by a vast superiority of genius, ever fertile in expedients, and prone to recommend the most vigorous and spirited measures.

* The influence which Nikon, from the superiority of his genius, obtained in the czar's councils, perhaps induced Voltaire, in his erroneous account of this patriarch, to declare, that he "voulut élever sa chaire au-dessus du trône; non seulement il usurpait le droit de s'asseoir dans le

senat à côté du czar, mais il prétendait, qu'on ne pouvait faire ni la guerre ni la paix sans son consentement." &c. Hist. de Pierre le Grand, p. 74. From Voltaire the compiler of the article of Russia, in the Universal History, has adopted this idle assertion. V. XXXVIII. p. 140:

When he seemed thus to have attained the highest summit of human grandeur to which a subject can arrive, he fell a victim to popular discontents, and to the cabals of a court. His fall, no less sudden than his rise, must be traced from the following causes. The removal of the painted images from the churches disgusted a large party among the Russians superstitiously addicted to the adoration of their ancestors; the correction of the errors in the Liturgy and Bible, the abolition of some ceremonies, and the admission of a few others (introduced, perhaps, with too much haste, and without paying a due deference to the prejudices of his countrymen), occasioned a schism in the church; many persons averse to all innovations, and adhering to the old tenets and ceremonies, formed a very considerable sect under the appellation of *Old Believers*, and, rising in several parts, created much disturbance to the state, circumstances naturally imputed to Nikon by his enemies: he attracted the hatred of an ignorant and indolent clergy by the appointment of Greek and Latin seminaries; he raised the envy and jealousy of the prime-minister and courtiers by his predominance in the cabinet, and by the haughtiness of his deportment; and by the same means he offended the tzarina and her father, who were implacable in their resentment.

All these various parties uniting in one great combination against him, Nikon hastened his fall by a supercilious demeanour, which occasionally bordered upon arrogance, by trusting solely for his support to the rectitude of his conduct and the favour of his sovereign; and by disdaining to guard against, what he considered, as the petty intrigues of a court.

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The only circumstance which seemed wanting to complete his disgrace was the loss of Alexey's protection; and this was at length effected by the gradual, but secret, insinuations of the tzarina and her party, who finally availed themselves of an unsuccessful war with Poland, of which the patriarch is said to have been the principal adviser, to excite the tzar's displeasure against him. Nikon, finding himself excluded from the presence of a sovereign accustomed to consult him upon every emergency, and disdainng to hold the highest office in the kingdom, when he had lost the confidence of his master, astonished the publick by a voluntary abdication of his patriarchal dignity. This measure, censured by many as hasty and imprudent, and as highly expressive of that pride which strongly marked his character, must yet be esteemed manly and resolute; which even those who condemn cannot but admire. It may also admit of great palliation, if we consider, what is most probable, that the popular odium was rising against him, that a powerful party had absolutely, though secretly, effectuated his disgrace; and that, as he foresaw his fall, he preferred a voluntary abdication of his dignity to a forcible deposition, chusing to resign with spirit what he thought he could not retain without meanness*.

This abdication took place on the 21st† of July, 1658, only six years after he had been created patriarch; when he quitted that exalted station with the same greatness of

* This is the opinion of Mayerberg, who came to Moscow six years after his abdication: "After enumerating the causes of his fall, he adds, *Propter quæ omnia omnibus exosus, et ad exilium communibus optis expetitus patrociniû nullum inve-*

nerit in favorem Alexii, cujus animum sensim abalienaverant, iactis in longum odii uxorem et socerum illi de civitate causas infensum," p. 87.

† The 10th, O. S.

of soul with which he had ascended it. He was permitted to retain the title of patriarch, while the functions of his office were performed by the archbishop of Novogorod. He chose for the place of his residence the convent of Jerusalem, built and endowed by himself, which is situated about the distance of thirty miles from the city of Moscow. Upon his arrival at the convent he immediately re-assumed his former recluse way of life, and practised the most rigid mortifications. His hermitage, which he inhabited, lay about a mile from the monastery, and is thus described by an author *, who visited the spot in the beginning of this century : “ A winding stair-case, so narrow that one man could hardly pass, leads to the little chapel of about a fathom in the square, in which the patriarch used to perform his solitary worship. The room in which he lived was not much larger ; in it hung a broad iron-plate, with a cross of brass fixed to a heavy chain, weighing above twenty pounds, all which the said patriarch wore about his neck for twenty years together. His bed was a square stone two ells in length, and scarcely one in breadth, over which was spread nothing but a cover of rushes. Below in the house was a small chimney, in which the patriarch used to dress his own victuals.”

While we admire the firmness with which he supported this reverse of fortune, we cannot without regret observe a person of his enlightened understanding submitting to these mortifying penances, which the most ignorant and superstitious cenobite was no less capable of performing : he did not, however, waste his whole time in the performance

* Perry's State of Russia, v. I. p. 140.

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of frivolous austerities; but employed great part of his retirement in compiling a regular series of Russian annals from Nestor, the earliest historian of this country, to the reign of Alexey Michaelovitch. He pursued this plan with the same zeal which had distinguished all his other pursuits. He compared and collated the numerous manuscripts, and, after the most diligent examination, he digested the whole collection in chronological order into a work, which is called sometimes, from its author, the Chronicle of Nikon; and sometimes, from the place where it was begun and deposited, the Chronicle of the Convent of Jerusalem. This compilation, the labour of twenty years, is justly esteemed, by the best Russian historians, as a work of the greatest use and authority; and was considered by its venerable author of such importance to the history of his country, that, in the true spirit of enthusiasm, he begins the performance by anathematizing all those who should attempt to alter the minutest expression.

The innocent manner, however, in which he seems to have passed his time could not protect him from the further persecutions of his enemies, who were apprehensive, that while he retained the name of patriarch he might be reinstated in his former dignity. Repeated complaints were lodged against him; every disturbance, occasioned by the old believers, was made a matter of serious accusation; not only his former conduct was discussed and arraigned, but new crimes were invented to render him still more obnoxious. He was accused of writing to the patriarch of Constantinople in a disrespectful manner against the czar, of holding a treasonable correspondence with the king of Poland, and of receiving bribes from the same monarch.

The

The tzar, continually beset by the patriarch's enemies, was prevailed upon to proceed to the most violent extremities against him. With this view he convened, in 1666, a general council of the Greek and Russian clergy at Moscow, who, after a short deliberation, formally deposed Nikon from the patriarchal see, and banished him to a distant convent. The principal cause assigned for this deposition was, that Nikon, having by his voluntary abdication meanly deserted his flock, was unworthy to fill the patriarchal seat; a sufficient proof that the other crimes were maliciously imputed to him, circulated merely to prejudice the tzar, and to influence the judges against him: for if he had been found guilty of a treasonable correspondence, that alone would have been a much better plea for his deposition and imprisonment, than a trifling charge drawn from his voluntary abdication.

In conformity to his sentence, Nikon was degraded to the condition of a common monk, and imprisoned in the convent of Therapont, in the government of Bielozero. His confinement was for some time extremely rigorous, because, conscious of his own integrity, he persisted in a denial of guilt, and refused to accept a pardon for crimes which he had never committed. Upon the death of Alexey in 1676, Feodor, probably at the instigation of his prime-minister prince Galitzin, the patron and friend of genius, permitted Nikon to remove to the convent of St. Cyril in the same government, where he enjoyed the most perfect liberty.

Nikon survived his deposition fifteen years. In 1681 he requested and obtained permission to return to the convent of Jerusalem, that he might end his days in that favourite spot; but he expired upon the road near Yaroslaf,

BOOK in the 66th year of his age. His remains were transported
 III. to that convent, and buried with all the ceremonies used at
 the interment of patriarchs*.

* For the History of Nicon, I have followed Muller in his *Nachricht von Novogorod* in S. R. G. Vol. V. p. 541 to 559. L'Evesque has drawn from this same source a spirited and candid account of this great patriarch, to which I hold myself indebted for a few reflections. *Hist. de Russie*, v. III. p. 391 to 394; also 417 to 430.

C H A P. V.

Russian archives.—English state-papers.—Commencement of the connection between the courts of London and Moscow.—Correspondence between queen Elizabeth and the tzar Ivan Vassilievitch II.—His demand of the lady Anne Hastings in marriage.—Account of that negotiation.—Other dispatches.—A letter from the emperor Maximilian I. to Vassili Ivanovitch.—Rise of the title of tzar.—Negotiation between Peter the Great and the European courts relative to the title of emperor.—University.—Syllabus of the lectures.—Account of Matthæi's Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in the library of the Holy Synod.—Hymn to Ceres attributed to Homer, &c. &c.

MR. Muller obligingly accompanied us to the place in the Khitaigorod, where the public archives are deposited; which is a strong brick building, containing several vaulted apartments with iron floors. These archives, consisting of a numerous collection of state-papers, were crowded into boxes, and thrown aside like common lumber, until the present empress ordered them to be revised and arranged. In conformity to this mandate, Mr. Muller has disposed them in chronological order with such perfect regularity, that any single document may be inspected with little trouble. They are enclosed in separate cabinets with glass doors; those relative to Russia are all classed according to the several provinces which they concern; and over each cabinet

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is inscribed the name of the province to which it is appropriated. In the same manner the manuscripts relative to foreign kingdoms are placed in separate divisions under the respective titles of Poland, Sweden, England, France, Germany, &c. The papers which concerned my native country first engaged my attention. The earliest correspondence between the sovereigns of England and Russia commenced about the middle of the 16th century, soon after the discovery of Archangel, and chiefly relates to the permission of trade granted exclusively to the English company of merchants settled in this country. The first record is an original letter of Philip and Mary to Ivan Vassilievitch II. acknowledging the receipt of a dispatch transmitted to England by his ambassador Osef Niphea, and returning thanks for the liberty of opening a free trade throughout the Russian dominions. The charter of privileges granted by the same czar to the English merchants, and the numerous letters which he received from Elizabeth are all preserved in this collection; and are for the most part printed in Hackhuyt's Voyages: I observed one, however, not to be found in that work; it is dated the 18th of May, 1570, and Elizabeth, among other expressions of friendship, offers to Ivan Vassilievitch, in case he should be compelled by an insurrection to quit his country, an asylum for himself and family in England. This letter was signed by Elizabeth in the presence of her secret council: amongst the signatures I noticed the names of Bacon, Leycester, and Cecil.

As some historians have asserted that the czar Ivan Vassilievitch II. carried his personal respect for queen Elizabeth so far as to be one of her suitors, while Camden only relates that he proposed to marry lady Anne Hastings, daughter of the earl of Huntingdon, my curiosity led me to make inquiries

quiries into this transaction. With respect to any treaty of marriage between the tzar and Elizabeth, the archives are entirely silent; but in regard to the intended espousal of lady Anne Hastings, they furnished me with the following curious particulars. CHAP.
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The first hint of this match seems to have been suggested by Dr. Robert Jacob a physician, whom Elizabeth in 1581, at the tzar's desire, sent to Moscow. Dr. Jacob, not unacquainted with the fickleness of Ivan in his amours, and his desire of contracting an alliance with a foreign princess, extolled, in the most extravagant terms, the beauty, accomplishments, and rank of lady Anne Hastings, and actually inspired the tzar with a strong inclination to espouse her, although he had just married his fifth wife Maria Feoderofna. Dr. Jacob represented this lady as a niece of the queen, and daughter of an independent prince; both which circumstances being false sufficiently seem to prove that he acted from his own suggestions, without the least authority from Elizabeth. The tzar, fired by his description, dispatched Gregory Pirsenskoi, a Russian nobleman of the first distinction, to England, to make a formal demand of the lady for his wife: according to his instructions, he was ordered, after a conference with the queen, to procure an interview with the lady, obtain her portrait, and inform himself of the rank and situation of her family; he was then to request that an English ambassador might return with him to Moscow, with full powers to adjust the conditions of the marriage. If an objection should be raised, that Ivan was already married, he should answer, that the tzar, having espoused a subject, was at liberty to divorce her; and if it was asked, what provision should be made for the children by lady

BOOK III. Anne Hastings, he should reply, that Feodor, the eldest prince, was undoubtedly heir to the throne, but that her children should be amply endowed.

Pirlemkoi, in consequence of these orders, repaired to London, had an audience of Elizabeth, saw lady Hastings, who had just recovered from the small-pox, procured her portrait, and returned to Moscow in 1583, accompanied with an English ambassador, Sir Jerome Bowes. The latter, who was a person of a capricious disposition, at his first interview greatly offended the czar by his freedom of speech, and more particularly as he was not commissioned to give a final assent to the marriage, but only to receive a more explicit offer, and transmit it to the queen. The czar, little accustomed to brook delay, declared, "that no obstacle should prevent him from marrying some kinswoman of her majesty's; that he should send again into England to have some one of them to wife; adding, that if her majesty would not, upon his next embassy, send him such an one as he desired, himself would then go into England, and carry his treasure with him, and marry one of them there." Sir Jerome Bowes, probably in conformity to his instructions, threw every obstacle in the way of the marriage: instead of speaking handsomely of lady Hastings, mentioned her person with indifference, and denied that she was any relation to the queen; adding, with some marks of contempt, that his mistress had many such nieces. By these means the affair was suspended, and the negotiation was finally terminated by the death of the czar in the beginning of the following year.

The correspondence between the Russian and English sovereigns, begun in the reign of Ivan, appears, from these archives,

archives, by no means to have ceased upon his demise. The amity, indeed, between the two courts was so firmly established, that Charles I. sent a corps of troops, under colonel Sanderson, to the assistance of Michael Feodorovitch, against Ladislaus king of Poland; and Alexey Michaelovitch occasionally furnished Charles, in the period of his greatest distress, with money and corn. The last letter from our unfortunate sovereign to Alexey is dated Isle of Wight, June 1, 1648, and was written during his confinement in Carisbrook-Castle. I observed one from Charles II. to the same tzar, announcing the execution of his father; it is dated September the 16th, 1649, and was brought to Moscow by Lord Culpepper.

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During the usurpation of Cromwell, Alexey maintained a constant correspondence with the exiled Charles. He was accustomed to declare, that all monarchs ought to esteem the cause of Charles I. as their own; and should not, by countenancing an usurper, encourage subjects to rebel against their king. In conformity to these sentiments he refused, for a time*, to hold any intercourse with the protector; and these archives contain no letters between Cromwell and the tzar.

The restoration of Charles II. renewed the friendly harmony between the two courts; and as from this interval the dispatches received from England were so numerous, that it would have required several days to have examined them with any degree of attention; I was compelled to retire without having sufficiently satisfied my curiosity. These

* I say for a time; for, although, if I rightly remember, these archives contain no dispatches between the tzar and Cromwell, yet it is certain, that after sometime Alexey maintained a correspondence with

the protector, and had once consented to receive his ambassadors at Moscow. This will fully appear in the chapter on the Rise and Progress of the English Trade to Russia in the next volume.

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papers*, as they contain a complete historical series of the alliances, connection, correspondence, and commerce, between Russia and England, could not fail of forming a very interesting publication, if they were printed in chronological order, and interspersed with historical observations.

I had scarcely time to take a glance of the numerous state-papers which relate to the other European powers; but the keeper of the archives did not omit pointing out to me one document of great importance in the history of Russia; I allude to the famous letter, written in the German tongue †, from Maximilian I. emperor of Germany, to Vassili Ivanovitch, confirming a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive against Sigismund king of Poland. The dispatch, which is dated August the 4th, 1514, and is ratified with the seal of the golden-bull, is remarkable because Maximilian addresses Vassili by calling him *Kayser* und Herrscher aller Russen; *Emperor* and ruler of all the Russias. This deed, which was discovered by baron Shavirof in the archives about the beginning of this century, is said to have first suggested to Peter the idea of assuming the appellation of emperor, and of formally demanding that it should never be omitted by the European courts. The demand gave rise to various negotiations, and occasioned a curious controversy among the learned, concerning the rise and progress of the titles by which the monarchs of this country have been distinguished.

* These papers appeared so curious, that soon after my arrival at Petersburg, I obtained, by the kind intercession of Sir James Harris, permission from count Panin to have them copied. But the demands of the copyist being greatly disproportionate to my finances, I was unwillingly obliged to relinquish my design; and I must leave

to some richer traveller the happiness of displaying to the public this treasure of political information.

† The reader will find a copy of the original German in Weber's *Verändertes Russland*, v. I. p. 357; and a faithful translation in Perry's *State of Russia*, p. 258.

From their researches, it appeared that the early sovereigns of Russia were called great-duke, and that Vassili Ivanovitch* was probably the first who styled himself tzar, an expression which, in the Slavonian language, signifies king; and that his successors continued to bear within their own dominions that title as the most honourable appellation, until Peter the Great first took that of *Povélitel*, or emperor. It is nevertheless as certain, that the foreign courts † in their intercourse with that of Moscow, styled the sovereigns indiscriminately great-duke, tzar, and emperor ‡. With respect to England in particular, we know for certain, that, in Chancellor's Account of Russia, so early as the middle of the sixteenth century, Ivan Vassilievitch II. is called lord and emperor of all Russia; and in the English dispatches, from the reign of Elizabeth to that of Anne, he is generally addressed under the same appellation. We may at the same time remark, that when the European powers styled the tzar emperor of Muscovy, they by no means intended to give him a title similar to that which was peculiar to the emperor of Germany; but they bestowed upon him that appellation as upon an Asiatic sovereign, in the same manner as we now say the emperors of China and Japan. When Peter, therefore, determined to assume the title of emperor, he found no difficulty in proving that it had been confirmed upon his predecessors by most of the European powers; yet, when he was

* The appellation of tzar was not taken, as some authors suppose, from the Tartars, when Ivan conquered Casan, for the prince of Casan was called Khan.

† This is asserted upon the positive testimony of Herberstein, and his authority is unquestionable, because, as he was twice ambassador to Moscow, the first time to Vassili Ivanovitch, and afterwards to Ivan Vassilievitch II. he must have been acquaint-

ed with the titles born by these two sovereigns. Other authors suppose that his son Ivan was the first who assumed the title of tzar.

‡ According to Mayerberg, the title of Alexèy Michaelovitch prefixed to his Code of Laws, was "Tzar, et Magnus Dux, totius Ruffiæ Autocratôr." *Iter in Mos.* p. 113.

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desirous of affixing to the term the European sense, it was considered as an innovation, and was productive of more negotiations than would have been requisite for the termination of the most important state-affair. After many delays and objections, the principal courts of Europe consented, about the year 1722, to address the sovereign of Russia with the title of emperor, without prejudice, nevertheless, to the other crowned heads of Europe*.

These

* Many authors have erroneously advanced, that the English ambassador Lord Whitworth, soon after the battle of Poltava, gave, by order of queen Anne, the title of emperor in its *European sense* to Peter the Great. But the following extracts, in a dispatch of lord Carteret to Sir Luke Schaubé, the English minister at Paris, which fell under my observations since I had finished the account in the context, will fully contradict these assertions; and are here inserted, because they will help to throw further light upon this subject. The united provinces and the king of Prussia had already, in 1711, acknowledged Peter's right to the title of emperor: but the courts of London and Paris withheld their consent. During the negotiation pending between those courts and Peter, several dispatches passed between lord Carteret, secretary of state, the cardinal Dubois, and Sir Luke Schaubé, English ministers at Paris.

"Le cardinal," writes lord Carteret in one of his dispatches to Sir Luke, dated Jan. 1721-2, "croit qu'on pourroit accorder le titre de *Empereur* au czar, de manière que les couronnes n'en fussent point préjudiciées."

"Le Roy [George I.] a trouvé la réponse très sage, que le cardinal a faite aux ministres du czar touchant la demande du titre d'*empereur*. Nous agirons de concert, avec son éminence dans cette affaire. Et pour luy donner les éclaircissements; qu'elle souhaite, touchant ce qui s'est passé entre la Grande Bretagne et le czar

"à l'égard du titre, je vous envoie un extrait, qui a été tiré des registres de nos archives, pour luy être communiqué. Les ministres Moscovites ne sont nullement fondés en ce qu'ils allèguent que ce titre a été accordé au czar comme une partie de la satisfaction dans l'affaire de Matueof. Il est constant que l'on ne fit alors aucun changement à cette occasion là.

"En examinant le stile, dont les roys de la Grande Bretagne se sont servis, en écrivant aux czars de Moscovie, on est remonté jusqu'au tems de la reine Elizabeth. On trouve qu'on leur a toujours écrit en Anglois, et que cette princesse. An. 1559. Se feroit du stile d'*empereur* et de *biguasi*.

An. 1616. Le roy Jacques I. de celui d'*empereur* et de *majesty*.

An. 1633. Le roy Charles I.

1666. Le roy Charles II.

1687. Jacques II. et Guillaume III. de celui d'*empereur* de d'*imperial majesty*.

1707. La reine Anne s'est servie du stile d'*empereur* et d'*imperial majesty*, jusqu'à l'an 1707, et alors on commença à écrire comme *Mander*, &c. et *czaric majesty*.

An. 1708. En 1708 le 16 Juillet et le 19 Septembre, *Mander* et *imperial majesty*; et le 9 Novembre de la même année *empereur* et *imperial majesty*. En 1709, 1710, 1711. *Empereur* et *imperial majesty*. En

The archives contain also thirteen volumes of letters, jour- CHAP.
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En 1713, 1715, 1716, *empereur et czar, czaritch, et imperial majesty* tantôt l'un, tantôt l'autre, et souvent *czaritch, et imperial majesty*, dans une même lettre. En 1714 le 27 Septembre, la suite de la lettre de notification de l'avènement du roy à la Couronne, est, *empereur et your majesty*, et dans plusieurs autres lettres depuis ce temps la *czaritch*, ou *imperial majesty*, et quelquefois *your majesty* simplement.

Voicy le titre entier.

To the most high, most potent, and most illustrious, our most dear brother, the great lord, czar, and great duke, Peter Alexejewitz, of all the Greater, Lesser, and White Russia, Self-Upholder of Muscovia, Kiovia, Ulodominia, Novogardia, czar of Cazan, czar of Astrachan, czar of Siberia, lord of Plexoe, and great- duke of Smolensko, Tueria, Ugoria, Permia, Viatkya, Bolgaria, and others, lord and great- duke of Novogardia, and of the Lower Countries of Czertegorsky, Refansky, Rostovskiy, Yeroslave, Beloorzerky, Udorsky, Obdorsky, Opindinsky, and *empereur* of all the Northern Coasts, lord of the Lands of Iversky, Cartilinsky, and Gruzenky, czar of the Lands of Caberdinsky, Czereafsky, and duke of the Mountains, and of many other Dominions and Countries, East, West, and North, from Father and from Grandfather, Heir, Lord and Conqueror.

Lord Carteret in a letter to the Cardinal Dubois, writes

Le roi concourra sans difficulté

avec sa majesté très Chrétienne, à faire ce que V. Eminence jugera convenable, par rapport au nouveau titre que le czar demande, et un parfait concert à faire espérer à ce prince une telle complaisance pour servir à le gagner, et à nous faire tirer fruits de son ambition. Jan. 30, 1721-2.

And in a dispatch to Sir Luke Schaubé, he thus expresses himself:

La coutume icy a toujours été d'écrire aux czars de Moscovie sur du velin enluminé peint et doré, comme on fait aux empereurs de Maroc et Fez, et à plusieurs autres princes non-Europeens, lesquels selon cette coutume seroient également fondez d'insister sur le titre d'empereur. On n'a jamais voulu changer l'usage étably, quoique les Moscovites l'ayent fort sollicité durant l'ambassade de my lord Whitworth à Moscow. Ce ministre s'excusa toujours d'en faire la proposition. Il leur dit, qu'il leur donneroit le titre, sans difficulté, tel qu'il le trouvoit établi; mais qu'il ne leur conseilloit pas de remuer cette matière, ni de s'éclaircir trop soigneusement sur quel pied on leur donnoit ce titre. Les Moscovites crurent son avis bon pour lors. Quand my lord Whitworth, et Mr. l'amiral Norris furent chargez d'une commission auprès du czar à Amsterdam, ils n'eurent que des lettres de cacher, dont le titre étoit *your majesty*; les ministres Russiens en firent d'abord quelque scrupule, mais n'y insisterent pas.

These extracts are drawn from Sir Luke Schaubé's State Papers, in the rare and ample collection of the earl of Hardwicke, a nobleman as distinguished for the extent, as the liberal communication of his knowledge.

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nals, notes, and other manuscripts, of Peter the Great, written with his own hand: these papers sufficiently show the indefatigable pains, with which that great monarch wrote down the minutest circumstances, that might serve to execute his extensive plans for the civilization and aggrandizement of his country. Mr. Muller has lately published several letters and other pieces of this kind, which throw a considerable light upon the transactions of Peter's reign, and afford striking instances of his persevering genius.

From the archives we repaired to the university, also situated in the Khitaigorod: it was founded, at the instance of count Shuvalof, by the empress Elizabeth, for six hundred students, who are clothed, boarded, and instructed at the expence of the crown. We were received, with great civility, by the director of the university and professors, who conducted us first to the printing-office belonging to their society. One of the presses being at work, several sheets were struck off and presented to us as specimens of the Russian printing: upon looking at them, we were surprized to find a complimentary address to ourselves in the English and Russian languages, of which the following is a fair sample.



This Specimen of the Russian print was presented to the Right honourable LORD HERBERT on his Travels thro' Russia, accompany'd by Captain *Floyd* & Mr. *Coxe*; on their honouring the Imperial University of Mosco with a friendly visit this * 1 Day of September 1778.



Сие писаніе печати Россійской поднесено Высокопочтеннѣйшему ЛОРДУ ГЕРБЕРТУ въ его путешествіи, чрезъ Россію съ Капитаномъ *Флойдомъ* и Господиномъ *Коксомъ* во время, когда они удостоили своимъ благосклоннымъ посещеніемъ Императорскій Московскій Университетъ Сентября 1 дня 1778 года.

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We next proceeded to the university-library, which contains a small collection of books, and a moderate apparatus of experimental philosophy.

Upon taking leave of the director, he obligingly presented me with a Tartar Grammar, which language is taught in this society, a Syllabus of a year's lectures, and a Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the library of the Holy Synod.

The following extract from the Syllabus * will display to the reader the general studies, and the principal books used in this university for the instruction of the students.

1. A course of lectures on the History of the Russian Law, on Nettelbadianus, *Systema universæ jurisprudentiæ*, and on the *Jus Cambiale*; eight hours in the week. 2. On Cicero's Orations against Catiline, the sixth book of Virgil's Eneid, plays of Plautus and Terence, instructions on the manner of writing Latin and Russian verses from the examples of Lomonosof and Horace; an exposition of the panegyric orations of Lomonosof, together with translations and exercises in Latin and Russian prose: eight hours in the week. 3. On arithmetic, trigonometry, and optics, from Weidler's *Mathematicæ Institutiones*; and experimental philosophy from Kruger's Compendium. 4. On ancient and modern history. 5. Introduction to the knowledge of moral philosophy, from Bielfield's Institutes. 6. On clinic medicine, or the remedies used by ancient and modern physicians, from Vogel's Compendium. 7. On the pandects from the compendium of Heineccius, and a comparison between the Roman and Russian law: eight hours in the week. Professor Defaitsky, who reads this lecture, teaches also the

* It is entitled "Catalogus prælectionum publicarum in Universitate Cæsareâ Moscovensi habendarum."

English language from a Grammar compiled by himself: four hours in the week. 8. Logic and metaphysics from Baumeister's logic, eight hours in the week; and four hours geometry and trigonometry from Weidler. 9. On physics, under the following heads, pathology, diatetics, and therapeutics, from Ludwig's compendium. 10. On Botany, after the system of Linnæus. 11. Anatomy from Ludwig. 12. On the etymology, syntax, and style of the French tongue: eight hours in the week. 13. Etymology, syntax, and style of the German.

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Beside the university, there are two gymnasia, or seminaries, for the education of youth, endowed also by Elizabeth, in which are taught divinity, classics, philosophy, the Greek, Latin, Russian, German, French, Italian, and Tartar languages; history, geography, mathematics, architecture, fortification, artillery, algebra, drawing and painting, music, fencing, dancing, reading and writing. There are twenty-three professors: amongst these, the Syllabus informed me, that Mr. Alexief teaches divinity two hours in the week. Mr. Matthæi, professor and rector of both seminaries, explains some of Cicero's Orations and select Epistles, Libanius's Letters, Ernesti's oratorical essays, *Xenophon's Anabasis*, teaches the Roman antiquities from Burman's compendium, and continues his usual Latin exercises upon oratory. Mr. Sinkovski, every morning from seven to nine, treats of the principles of rhetoric, particularly concerning the *Periodologia*, both as to theory and practice, from *Burgius's Elementa Oratoria*; explains Cæsar's Commentaries and Justin; employs his scholars in Latin and Russian translations, and in the etymology and syntax of the Greek tongue: reads Plutarch *περί Πρωχης*; and, from nine to twelve on Mondays, Wednesdays,

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Wednesdays, and Saturdays, Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, and connects mythology with antient history and geography. Mr. Tsherbotaref, extraordinary professor of logic and morality, and under-librarian to the university, four hours in the week, comments upon *Heineccii elementa philosophiæ rationalis et moralis*, as well in the original Latin, as in the Russian translation, for the benefit of those who are unacquainted with the Latin tongue. Mr. Urbanst gives instructions in rhetoric from the compendium of Burgius, both in theory and practice. Mr. Holbertof explains Count Tessin's Letters to a young prince †.

The account of the Greek manuscripts in the library of the Holy Synod at Moscow, presented to me by the director, bore the following title: "*Notitia codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecarum Mosquensium sanctissimæ synodi Ecclesiæ orthodoxæ Græco-Russicæ, cum variis anecdotis, tabulis aeneis et indicibus locupletissimis. Edidit Christianus Fredericus Matthæi, Gymnastorum Universitatis Mosquensis Rector. Mosquæ, typis Universitatis, Anno 1776.*" folio. The author is Christian Frederic Matthæi, a learned German, who was educated at Leipzig under the celebrated Ernesti, and being drawn to Moscow by the liberality of the empress, was appointed a professor of this university. Soon after his arrival in this city, he turned his first attention to the state of Greek learning in this country; and being informed that the library of the Holy Synod contained a large and curious collection of Greek manuscripts, the greater part of which had, at the suggestion of the patriarch Nikon, and at the expence of Alexey Michaelovitch, been collected by the monk Arse-

* His præcipue, qui linguæ Latinæ sunt ignari, nec sua studia academica in universitate ulterius proficui possunt.

† The present king of Sweden when prince royal.

from the monastery of Mount Athos, he immediately explored this literary treasure.

And as a catalogue of these manuscripts, published by Anastasius Schinade, at the order of Peter the Great, was exceedingly inaccurate, Matthæi, who had displayed his erudition by several excellent editions* of the Classics, was encouraged by Prince Potemkin the great patron of ancient literature, who paid all the expence of the publication, to undertake this work upon a more extensive plan. Accordingly, in 1776, the learned editor gave to the public this first part of the performance, in which he has laid down a very accurate and circumstantial detail of fifty-one manuscripts, accompanied with many judicious remarks and critical inquiries; he describes the materials upon which each manuscript is written; he mentions the number of pages, the age, the writer, the former possessors; the contents, the first and last word. The author proposes to continue the publication at different intervals until he has finished the account. But as it would require many years thus minutely to detail and describe all the manuscripts, whose number amounts to 502; the learned author has, in the mean while, favoured the publick with a complete catalogue, in a less circumstantial manner, under the following title: "*Index codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecarum Mosquensium sanctissimæ Synodi ecclesiæ orthodoxæ Græco-Russicæ: edidit Christianus Fridericus Matthæi. Petropoli, typis Academiae Scientiarum, 1780.*" 4to. To this index is prefixed a very satisfactory and comprehensive introduction; in which, after having informed us that he compiled it for the use of prince Yufapof, an enthusiast in Greek literature, he enters

* The late ingenious Mr. Harris has enumerated the editions published by Mr. Matthæi. Philol. Inquiries, p. 564.

BOOK into a short account of the principal manuscripts. Among
III. these he enumerates several of the Septuagint, and one in particular of the Books of Kings, which is of the ninth century, and contains, in some places, many various readings, materially differing from the printed editions. He mentions also several of the New Testament; some accompanied with antient commentaries, which have never been published, and which the ingenious author has transcribed, collated, and prepared for the press. The most antient of these, containing the New Testament, was written at different periods; the first part so early as the seventh or eighth century, and the remainder in the twelfth and thirteenth. He adds, that this collection, although chiefly confined to theological subjects, is by no means deficient in the classics; amongst which he enumerates Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, Demosthenes, Æschynes, Hesiod, Pausanias, Plutarch, and a most beautiful Strabo, which he has collated for the new edition of that author, preparing for the Clarendon press by Mr. Falkener of Oxford*.

In this library of the Holy Synod Mr. Matthæi discovered an antient hymn of Ceres in a manuscript of Homer, written about the conclusion of the fourteenth century, but which he supposes to have been a transcript from a most antient and valuable copy: this manuscript, beside a fragment of the Iliad, contained the sixteen hymns usually attributed to Homer, in the same order as they are generally printed. At the end of the sixteenth he found twelve verses of an hymn to Bacchus, and an hymn to Ceres, which, excepting the last

* It was a considerable disappointment to me, that Mr. Matthæi was absent from Moscow during my continuance in that city, as I should have derived great infor-

mation from his acquaintance. I have likewise to regret, that, on account of his absence, I could not obtain a sight of these manuscripts.

part, was entire. Mr. Matthiæ, well acquainted with the delays which would have attended the publication at Moscow, sent a copy of the hymn to the celebrated Ruhnkenius, of the university of Leyden, who gave it to the public in 1780; and, as by mistake twenty lines had been omitted, he put forth a second edition the following year *.

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The learned editor has prefixed a critical disquisition upon this hymn, in which he asserts that it is undoubtedly of great antiquity, and written, if not by Homer himself, yet certainly by a very diligent imitator of his style and phraseology. The express testimony of Pausanias, who repeatedly mentions that Homer had composed an hymn to Ceres, may perhaps seem to some readers a strong argument, that it is the genuine production of the great author whose name it bears: and yet the joint opinion of the two antient grammarians †, quoted by Ruhnkenius in his preface, may be thought of sufficient weight to counterbalance the single evidence of Pausanias; whose judgement (as the editor has well observed) in this case is of the less value, because he has, without discrimination, adjudged the rest of the Homeric hymns to the reputed parent, many of which bear much stronger marks of a less honourable origin, than this composition in question. Though the style and plan of this hymn appears to me (as well as to the celebrated editor) inferior to Homer, and in some places unworthy of him, yet this argument, depending on the taste and feelings of the reader, will not operate on all with equal force; nor will even they who allow its inferiority to the other productions

* *Homeri Hymnus in Ceresem nunc primum editus a Davide Ruhnkenio.* ad Alexiph.—Grammaticus vetus apud Al-
latium de Patr. Hom. &c. Pref.

† P. VII. & VIII. Scholæstæ Nicandri

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III. of the divine poet, be immediately inclined to grant the conclusion, that it is not his work; because that objection may be removed by supposing, that Homer might in one particular composition fall below his usual standard of perfection. A stronger proof against its originality may be drawn from the words, phrases, and inflexions occurring in this poem, which are either of a later date than the age of Homer, or not found in his unsuspected works. Some of these the editor has enumerated*.

The classical reader who is desirous of further information relative to the genuineness of this ancient poem, is referred to the last edition of the Hymn by Ruhnkenius, and to the Preface of Mr. Hole's Translation †.

* The hymn to Ceres has suffered many mutilations and corruptions. It may not be improper to produce an instance. Among other particulars, in which this hymn resembles the Iliad and Odyssey, one of the most conspicuous is that proneness to iteration, which makes a distinguishing feature of Homer. The author of this hymn, from v. 443. to 447. inclusive, mentions the promises which Jupiter commissions Rhea to

make in his name to Ceres; these Rhea repeats, v. 463.—464. The 465th verse consisting of the same words with the 447th, the copier of the poem absurdly transcribed the five following lines (v. 448—452.), and probably omitted at least as many, which originally concluded this part with the sequel.

† Homer's Hymn to Ceres translated into English verse by Richard Hole, LL. B.

C H A P. VI.

Retail trade in the Khitaigorod.—Market for the sale of houses.—Expedition used in building wooden structures.—Excellence of the police in cases of riot or fire.—Chefs very common in Russia.—Account of the Foundling Hospital.—Excursion to the monastery of the Holy Trinity.—Delays of the post.—Description of the monastery.—Tomb of Maria titular queen of Livonia.—The history of that queen and of her husband Magnus.—Tomb and character of Boris Godunof.

MOSCOW is the centre of the inland commerce of CHAP. VI.
Russia, and particularly connects the trade between Europe and Siberia.

The only navigation to this city is formed by the Moskva, which, falling into the Occa near Columna, communicates by means of that river with the Volga *. But, as the Moskva is only navigable in Spring upon the melting of the snows, the principal merchandize is conveyed to and from Moscow upon sledges in winter.

The whole retail commerce of this city is carried on in the Khitaigorod, where, according to a custom common in Russia, as well as in most kingdoms of the East, all the shops are collected together in one spot. The place is like a kind of fair, consisting of many rows of low brick buildings; the interval between them resembling alleys. These shops or booths occupy a considerable space; they do not,

* For the communication of the Volga with the Baltic, see the chapter on the Inland Navigation of Russia in the next volume.

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as with us, make part of the owner's habitation; the tradesmen, but are quite detached from their dwellings, which for the most part are at some distance in another quarter of the town. The tradesman comes to his shop in the morning, remains there all day, and returns home to his family in the afternoon. Every trade has its separate department, and they who sell the same goods have booths adjoining to each other. Furs and floss form the most considerable article of commerce in Moscow, and the shops which vend those commodities occupy several streets.

Among the curiosities of Moscow, I must not omit the market for the sale of houses. It is held in a large open space in one of the suburbs, and exhibits a great variety of *ready-made houses*, thickly strewed upon the ground. The purchaser who wants a dwelling, repairs to this spot, mentions the number of rooms he requires, examines the different timbers, which are regularly numbered, and bargains for that which suits him. The house is sometimes paid for upon the spot, and taken away by the purchaser; or sometimes the vender contracts to transport and erect it upon the place where it is designed to stand. It may appear incredible to assert, that a dwelling may be thus bought, removed, raised, and inhabited, within the space of a week; but we shall conceive it practicable by considering that these *ready-made houses* are in general merely collections of trunks of trees, tenanted and mortised at each extremity into one another, so that nothing more is required than the labour of transporting and re-adjusting them.

But this summary mode of building is not always peculiar to the meaner hovel; as wooden structures of very large dimensions and handsome appearance are occasionally formed in Russia with an expedition almost inconceivable to the in-

habitants.

inhabitants of other countries. A remarkable instance of this dispatch was displayed the last time the empress came to Moscow. Her majesty proposed to reside in the mansion of prince Galitzin, which is esteemed the completest edifice in this city; but as it was not sufficiently spacious for her residence, a temporary addition of wood, larger than the house, and containing a magnificent suite of apartments, was begun and finished within the space of six weeks. This meteor-like fabrick was so handsome and commodious, that the materials, which were taken down at her majesty's departure, were to be re-constructed, as a kind of imperial villa, upon an eminence near the city.

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In Moscow I observed an admirable police for preventing riots; or for stopping the concourse of people in case of fires, which are very frequent and violent in those parts, where the houses are mostly of wood, and the streets are laid with timber. At the entrance of each street there is a *chevaux-de-frise* gate, one end whereof turns upon a pivot, and the other rolls upon a wheel; near it is a centry-box, in which a man is occasionally stationed. In times of riot or fire the centinel shuts the gate, and all passage is immediately stopped.

Chefs is so common in Russia, that during our continuance at Moscow, I scarcely entered into any company where parties were not engaged in that diversion; and I very frequently observed, in my passage through the streets, the tradesmen and common people playing it before the doors of their shops or houses. The Russians are esteemed great proficient in chefs. With them the queen has, in addition to the other moves, that of the knight, which, according to Rullidor, spoils the game, but which certainly renders it more complicated and difficult, and of course more interesting. The Russians have also another method of playing at

chefs,

OK
 III. chess, namely, with four persons at the same time, two against two; and for this purpose the board is longer than usual, contains more men, and is provided with a greater number of squares. I was informed, that this method is more difficult, but far more agreeable, than the common game.

Among the public institutions of Moscow, the most remarkable is the Foundling Hospital, endowed in 1764 by the present empress, and supported by voluntary contributions and legacies, and other charitable gifts. In order to encourage donations, her majesty grants to all benefactors some valuable privileges, and a certain degree of rank in proportion to the extent of their liberality. Among the principal contributors must be mentioned a private merchant, named Dimidof*, a person of great wealth, who has expended in favour of this charity above £100,000. The hospital, which is situated in a very airy part of the town upon a gentle ascent near the river Moskva, is an immense pile of building of a quadrangular shape, part of which was only finished when we were at Moscow. It contained, at that time, 3000 foundlings; and, when the whole is completed, will receive 8000.

The children are brought to the porter's lodge, and admitted without any recommendation. The rooms are lofty and large; the dormitories, which are separate from the work rooms, are very airy, and the beds are not crowded: each foundling, even each infant, has a separate bed; the bedsteads are of iron; the sheets are changed every week, and the linen three times a week. In going over the rooms, I was particularly struck with their neatness; even the nurseries being uncommonly clean, and without any unwholesome

* The ancestors of this gentleman first discovered and worked the richest mines of Siberia; from whence his family acquired immense riches.

some smells. No cradles are allowed, and rocking is particularly forbidden. The infants are not swaddled according to the custom of the country, but loosely dressed.

The director obligingly favoured us with his company, and showed us the foundlings at their respective works. Immediately upon his appearance the children crowded round him; some took hold of his arm; some held by his coat; others kissed his hand, and they all expressed the highest satisfaction. These natural and unfeigned marks of regard were the most convincing proofs of his mildness and good-nature; for children, when ill used, naturally crouch before those who have the management of them. I could be no judge merely in visiting the hospital, whether the children were well instructed, and the regulations well observed; but I was perfectly convinced, from their behaviour, that they were in general happy and contented, and could perceive from their looks that they were remarkably healthy. This latter circumstance must be owing to the uncommon care, which is paid to cleanliness both in their persons and rooms.

The foundlings are divided into separate classes, according to their respective ages. The children remain two years in the nursery, when they are admitted into the lowest class; the boys and girls continue together until they are seven years of age, at which time they are separated. They all learn to read, write, and cast accounts. The boys are taught to knit; they occasionally card hemp, flax, and wool, and work in the different manufactures. The girls learn to knit, net, and all kinds of needle-work; they spin and weave lace; they are employed in cookery, baking, and house-work of all sorts.

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At the age of fourteen the foundlings enter into the first class; when they have the liberty of choosing any particular branch of trade: and for this purpose there are different species of manufactures established in the hospital, of which the principal are embroidery, silk stockings, ribbands, lace, gloves, buttons, and cabinet-work. A separate room is appropriated to each trade.

Some boys and girls are instructed in the French and German languages, and a few boys in the Latin tongue; others learn music, drawing, and dancing.

About the age of twenty, the foundlings receive a sum of money, and several other advantages, which enable them to follow their trade in any part of the empire; a very considerable privilege in Russia, where the peasants are slaves, and cannot leave their village without the permission of their master.

In another visit which I paid to this hospital I saw the foundlings at dinner: the girls and boys dine separately. The dining-rooms, which are upon the ground-floor, are large and vaulted, and distinct from their work rooms. The first class sit at table; the rest stand: the little children are attended by servants; but those of the first and second class alternately wait upon each other. The dinner consisted of beef and mutton boiled in broth, with rice; I tasted both, and they were remarkably good: the bread was very sweet, and was baked in the house, chiefly by the foundlings. Each foundling has a napkin, pewter-plate, a knife, fork, and spoon. The napkin and table-cloth are clean three times in the week. They rise at six, dine at eleven, and sup at six. The little children have bread at seven, and at four. When they are not employed in their necessary occupations, the utmost freedom is allowed, and they are encouraged to be as much in the air as possible. The whole was a lovely sight;

fight; and the countenances of the children expressed the utmost content and happiness. CHAP.
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In the hospital there is a theatre in which all the decorations are the work of the foundlings: they constructed the stage, painted the scenes, and made the dresses. I was present at the representation of the *Honnête Criminel*, and the comic opera, *Le Devin du Village*, both translated into the Russian tongue. Not understanding the language, I could be no judge whether they spoke with propriety; but I was surprized at the ease with which they trod the stage, and was pleased with the gracefulness of their action. There were some agreeable voices in the opera. The orchestra was filled with a band by no means contemptible, which consisted entirely of foundlings, excepting the first violin, who was their musick-master. On this occasion the play was not, as usual, concluded with a ballet, because the principal performer was indisposed, which was no small disappointment, as we were informed that they dance ballets with great taste and elegance.

The empress, I am told, is induced to countenance theatrical representations in a seminary of this kind, from a desire of diffusing among her subjects that species of entertainment, which she considers a means of civilization, and of enriching the Russian theatres with a constant supply of performers.

Many and great are the advantages of this excellent charity. It diffuses a knowledge of the arts among the people; increases the number of free subjects; and above all has considerably diminished the horrid practice of destroying infants, so prevalent in these parts before the institution of the hospital.

We were unwilling to quit this part of the country without paying a visit to Troitskoi Kloster, or the monastery of the Holy Trinity, which is distinguished in the annals of this

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country as the asylum for the Russian sovereigns in cases of insurrection and danger, and is more particularly known to foreigners for the refuge it afforded to Peter the Great, when he put an end to the administration of his sister Sophia *.

The distance from Moscow to the monastery being forty miles, we ordered post-horses to be ready at five in the morning, with an intention of viewing the convent, and returning to this city by night. We thought that we should easily have made this excursion in the time proposed; but obstacles continually occur in foreign countries, unforeseen by those who are not sufficiently acquainted with the manners of the natives; and the most trivial circumstances, which if known are readily obviated, produce, when unknown, considerable embarrassments. Some petty distresses of this description lengthened our expedition from one to three days.

We rose at five in the morning, but were detained by the want of post-horses, which we found great difficulty in procuring, notwithstanding that our orders for them were signed by the governor of the province and the governor of the city, and although we importuned the post-master with repeated messages. The case is, that as the price for the hire of horses is very inconsiderable, the owners can employ them in other services to greater advantage: and on this account a stranger, unless he is accompanied with a Russian soldier to quicken the expedition of those who furnish the post, must necessarily meet with infinite delays in travelling through this country. We were, indeed, strongly advised by some of our acquaintance to use this precaution; but, thinking that we should have no occasion for it during so short a journey, we imprudently omitted it, to our great inconvenience, as we soon experienced.

* See Chap. VIII.

After waiting nine hours we at length thought ourselves fortunate in seeing the post-horses make their appearance about two in the afternoon ; and sat off with an expectation of proceeding without interruption to Bretofschina, where we knew that a relay was waiting for us. But our drivers stopped at a village only four miles from Moscow, and peremptorily refused to carry us any farther. In vain we produced our order for horses ; they contended that it authorized us only to take them from village to village ; and upon the strength of that construction returned without further ceremony to Moscow. Two hours more were now employed, and much broken Russian spoken by our Bohemian interpreter, before we were able to prevail upon the inhabitants of the place to supply us with horses, who deposited us in a village about the distance of three miles ; where all the old process of altercation, threats, and promises, were again renewed. In this manner we continued wrangling and proceeding from village to village, which unfortunately lay very thick in this part of the country, until near midnight, when we found ourselves at Klisma, only seventeen miles from Moscow, where we took up our abode in a peasant's cottage. Our Bohemian servant having fortunately devoted great part of the night in rambling to different houses, and adjusting the difficult negotiation for fresh horses, we were able to depart almost by day-break ; and had the still farther satisfaction to pass over the *immense* space of seven miles without either halt or delay ; so that by eight in the morning we reached, much to our surprise, Bretofschina, which stands about half-way between Moscow and the convent. Here we found a Russian serjeant, whom prince Volkonski had obligingly sent forwards to procure the

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horses, which he had promised we should find in this place, and to accompany us during the remainder of our journey : the experience of the preceding day had taught us the value of this military attendant.

At Bretoffhina we viewed a palace built by Alexey Michaelovitch, in which he frequently resided : it is a long wooden building, painted yellow, only one story in height, containing a suite of small and low rooms. This palace (if it deserves that name) has long been uninhabited. The empress, pleased with the beauty of the situation, and respecting a place which had once been the favourite residence of Peter the Great's father, purposed to build a large brick palace near the site of the old mansion ; and part of the materials were already collected for that purpose. Upon our return to the village we ordered the horses, and were pleased to find our order obeyed almost as soon as it was issued : we had, indeed, a very successful agent in our friend the serjeant ; for the peasants, who were beginning to wrangle among themselves, and to make their usual altercations, were instantaneously dispersed by his cudgel, whose eloquence was more persuasive than the most pathetic remonstrances. The peasants were certainly accustomed to this species of rhetoric ; for they bore it patiently, and with perfect good humour ; and, the moment they were seated upon the box, began whistling and singing their national songs as usual. We now continued our route, and arrived at the convent, though distant from Bretoffhina about twenty miles, without once stopping to change horses.

Troitskoi Sergief Kloster, or the Monastery of the Holy Trinity, is so large as at a little distance to have the appearance of a small town ; and, like many convents in this country, is strongly fortified, according to the antient mode

of defence, being surrounded with high brick walls, strengthened with battlements and towers. The parapet is roofed with wood, and the walls and towers are provided with holes for muskets and cannon : the whole is surrounded by a deep ditch. This place stood several sieges ; and particularly baffled all the efforts of Ladislaus prince of Poland, who attacked it with a large army.

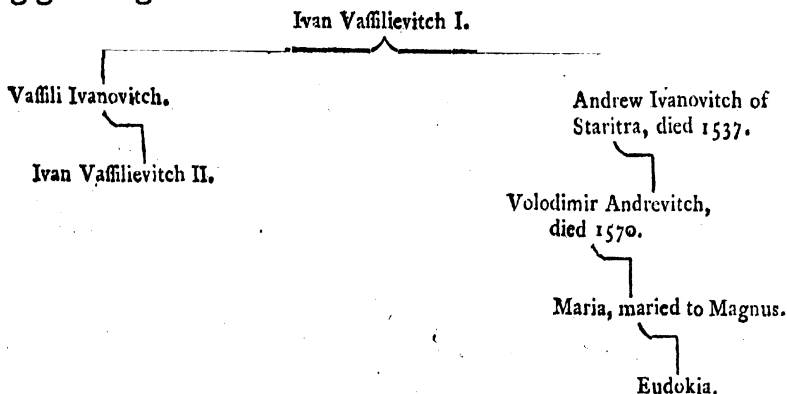
Beside the convent or habitation for the monks, the walls enclose an imperial palace, and nine large churches constructed by different sovereigns. The convent is a large range of building encircling a court, and is far too spacious for the present inhabitants : it formerly contained 300 monks, and a proportionate number of students ; and was the richest ecclesiastical foundation in Russia. The fraternity possessed considerable estates which contained at least 100,000 peasants : these estates, as well as all the other church-lands, being now annexed to the crown, the members receive small pensions. With their revenues their number has been greatly diminished, and they scarcely amount at present to 100 monks. Their habit is black, with a veil of the same colour ; they eat no meat, and the discipline of the order is very strict. Within the convent is a seminary for the education of persons intended for the clergy ; which contained, as we were informed, about 200 students.

The imperial palace, which was much frequented when the sovereign resided at Moscow, is small ; one of the apartments is ornamented with representations in stucco of the principal actions of Peter the Great. The churches are like all the churches which fell under my observation, superb and splendid, and extremely rich in gold and silver ornaments, and costly vestments. The principal church has a cupola

BOOK III. cupola and four domes, the former is of copper gilt, the latter of tin or iron painted green. We ascended a new belfry, built by the empress Elizabeth, which is not an inelegant piece of architecture: it commands a fine view of the adjacent country, which is gently waving, richly cultivated, producing much grain, and thickly strewed with villages. The archimandrite or abbot of the monastery being absent, we could not obtain permission to see the library, which occasioned some regret, because, according to Busching, it contains a curious collection of books*.

In the principal church a few tombs drew my attention.

The first was that of Maria queen of Livonia, probably the only person who ever bore that title, an empty honour, which she may truly be said to have purchased at a dear rate. Maria, lineally descended from Ivan Vassilievitch I. was a relation of Ivan II. as will plainly appear by the following genealogical table.



She espoused in 1573 Magnus duke of Holstein †, at that time

* Busching's Erd-beschreibung. V. I. p. 852.

† This Magnus was son of Christian III. king of Denmark; and is known in history

by several different appellations. He is sometimes styled king of Livonia, from his mock-sovereignty in that country; sometimes duke of Holstein, from his inheriting

time titular king of Livonia, who was raised to that dignity by Ivan Vassilievitch II. in a very extraordinary manner. Livonia, bordering upon Russia, Sweden, and Poland, and reciprocally claimed and possessed by those three powers, was, in the middle of the sixteenth century, partly free, partly subject to Poland, and partly to the Swedes, when the tzar made an irruption into that province, and conquered a small portion. Well acquainted, however, with the aversion of the natives to the Russian sceptre, he declared, that he had entered their country with no interested views; that he had no other ambition than to rescue them from the Swedish yoke; that he himself renounced all right of conquest, would style himself their protector; and proposed that they should elect for their sovereign Magnus, whose brother, Frederic II. king of Denmark, had some pretensions to Livonia. This proposal being cheerfully complied with by a great party among the natives, the tzar dispatched an embassy to Magnus, who accepted the proffered crown, repaired without delay to Moscow, where he was formally installed in his new dignity, upon condition of espousing Maria, and of paying an annual tribute to the tzar.

Magnus, however, was still only a titular sovereign, being opposed by the Swedes, who maintained a large army in Livonia, and not unanimously acknowledged even by the natives. After a fruitless attempt to take possession of his crown, he continued to display his mock-dignity at Moscow.

a portion of that duchy upon the decease of his father; and bishop of Æfel, from his exchanging his part of Holstein for the bishopricks of Æfel and Courland, which he secularised. Holberg, the Danish historian, mentions a bond for 1500 marks, which was thus signed. "We Magnus, by the grace of God, Lord of Æfel and

" Wick, Bishop of Courland, Administrator
" of the bishoprick of Reval, Heir of Nor-
" way, Duke of Schleswick, Holstein, Stor-
" mar, and Ditmarsk, Count of Olden-
" burgh and Delmenhorst." Titles, as the
historian remarks, which could not procure
him a small sum of money without his
bond. Holberg. V. II. p. 488.

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At length, in 1577, being escorted to Livonia by the tzar, at the head of 50,000 troops, he obtained his portion of the province, the town of Wenden and the adjacent territory, the remainder being reserved to Russia.

Magnus was scarcely admitted into Wenden, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy, than, despising a precarious and dependant sovereignty, he was prevailed upon by his new subjects, ever averse to the Russian yoke, to form a secret alliance with the king of Poland, and to counteract the tzar's progress in Livonia. Ivan, apprized of this negotiation, determined to chastise the perfidy of Magnus, by precipitating him from that throne, which he had so lately assisted him in ascending. With this view he laid immediate siege to Wenden with so numerous an army, that the inhabitants, finding all opposition ineffectual, proposed to capitulate. Magnus himself carried the terms of capitulation, and, advancing to supplicate the incensed monarch, threw himself at his feet, and interceded for the town. The tzar, spurning at him with his foot*, and striking

* Henning, author of the Ljvonian Chronicle, relates this transaction more to the honour of Ivan. He is thus quoted by the authors of the Universal History, vol. XXXV. p. 242. "The tzar laid siege to the place, till, at the earnest request of the citizens, Magnus, with only a few attendants, went into the tzar's camp, and, falling on his knees, begged pardon for himself and the city. Basilowitz no sooner saw the king of Livonia thus prostrate before him, than he dismounted from his horse, and desired him to rise, returned him his sword, and, after reproaching him with the ingratitude of his late conduct, freely pardoned him and the city, and assured them of his protection. At this instant a cannon ball from the castle narrowly missed killing the tzar; which

"so incensed him, that he mounted his horse and rode away directly, swearing by St. Nicholas, that for this fresh instance of perfidy, every person in Wenden should suffer death. Magnus was then put under an arrest in a farm-house, and obliged to sign an obligation, by which he engaged to pay the tzar 40,000 Hungarian florins by the next Christmas, as a satisfaction for the money taken from Polubenski; and in case of failure of payment at that time, to forfeit double the sum, and remain a prisoner at Moscow till the whole should be discharged." I have followed the principal historians of Sweden and Denmark, also Heidenstein, and Oderborg, who seem to have given the most probable account of this event.

him

him in the face, loaded him with reproaches for his ingratitude, and ordered him to prison; then entering the town, his troops committed every species of horror and devastation. Many of the principal inhabitants, retiring into the citadel, determined to defend it to the last extremity; but soon perceiving all resistance to be fruitless, and expecting no quarter, they calmly assembled, received the sacrament, and then destroyed themselves by blowing up the citadel. Thus ended the kingdom of Livonia four years after it had been erected into a sovereignty. Magnus, who thought himself extremely fortunate to obtain his enlargement upon paying a considerable sum of money, repaired, with his consort Maria, to Pilten in Courland, where he died in 1583, in extreme distress*. After the death of her husband, Maria, the titular queen of Livonia, was enticed into Russia, and thrown into a nunnery with her only daughter Eudokia†. She was never released from her confinement, and the time of her decease is uncertain. The remains, both of the queen and her daughter, were deposited in the convent of the Holy Trinity.

In the same church repose the ashes of Boris Feodorovitch Godunof; who, upon the demise of Feodor Ivanovitch in 1597, was raised from a private station to the throne of Russia. It is a circumstance extremely favourable to a virtuous conduct, that a sovereign cannot commit one flagrant offence without the imputation of many others; and that supposititious cruelties are always added to acts of real tyranny. This has been the fate of Boris Godunof, who, having deservedly acquired the detestation of posterity by the perpetration of one crime, has been unjustly branded with infamy, even for those actions which merit the highest applause.

* Holberg. V. II. p. 488.

† Fletcher's State of Russia, Chap. V.

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Boris Godunof was descended from a Tartar ancestor, who came into Russia in 1329, and, having embraced Christianity, assumed the name of Zachary. From Simon Godun, one of his descendants, the family was known by the surname of Godunof, and became greatly distinguished by the elevation of the personage who is now under consideration.

Boris, son of Feodor Ivanovitch, a nobleman of the Russian court, was born in 1522; and in the 20th year of his age was appointed, by Ivan Vassilievitch II. to attend the person of his son prince Ivan: being successively promoted to higher offices, and obtaining additional influence by the marriage of his sister Irene with Feodor Ivanovitch, he was, upon that monarch's succession to the throne, created privy counsellor, master of the horse, and invested with the sole direction of affairs. His authority was so absolute, that his reign may be dated from the accession of Feodor; he wanted only the title of tzar, and all the acts of government must be attributed to him.

Upon the death of Feodor without issue, the election fell unanimously upon Boris Godunof, who owed his elevation to the high opinion which all parties entertained of his capacity and wisdom, to the influence of his sister Irene, and to the artful manner with which he affected to decline, while he was most ambitious to possess, the crown. He deserved his elevation by his consummate abilities and popular manners; and, for his political and civil deportment, he is justly ranked among the greatest statesmen of his age.

Happy would it have been for himself and his country, if he had united moderation and humanity to these splendid qualities. His persecution of several noble families, who stood in the way of his ambitious designs, and still more the

assassination * of Demetrius, brands his character with indelible infamy. But while we allow and detest in this instance the full extent of his guilt, let not our horror at this transaction lead us to misrepresent his most laudable actions. Let us not assert with his enemies, that in order to turn the attention of the people from the catastrophe of the prince, and to ingratiate himself in their favour by an act of public munificence, he purposely set fire to several parts of Moscow, that he might rebuild them at his own expence. Nor let us, no less absurdly, accuse him of privately inviting the khan of the Tartars to invade Russia, that he might occupy the publick with a foreign war, and acquire fresh glory by repelling the enemy.

We may add to the list of his supposititious crimes, that he poisoned Feodor †, for the czar had long laboured under a declining state of health ‡; and, the year before his death, had requested a physician from England §. Even his paternal attention and unbounded generosity towards his subjects during a famine, which, soon after his elevation to the throne, desolated Moscow, has been turned against him; for prejudice has not been wanting to insinuate, that, from an absurd delicacy, he would not permit foreigners to supply the Russians in their extreme distress with corn; and that he joined several

* It is not here the place to inquire whether Demetrius was really assassinated, or whether he escaped, for the crime of Boris was the same, whether his orders were carried into execution, or illuded. See the next chapter.

† I am at a loss to know where the compiler of the article of Russia, in the Universal History, obtained the following anecdote. "Theodore died, after a reign of twelve years, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by his brother-in-law. The czarina seemed so sensible of this,

"that she strongly reproached her brother, Boris Godunof, with the murder of her husband, and would never speak to him afterwards." Vol. XXXV. p. 273. For all authentick historians agree, that his elevation to the throne was finally owing to the positive recommendation of his sister the czarina, whose intercession overcame his affected refusal of the crown.

‡ Fletcher says of Feodor, that he was inclining to a dropsy.

§ As appears from a letter in the Russian archives.

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banditti in plundering the houses of the rich *; calumnies which have been ably and unanswerably refuted by Muller.

But the highest splendour of abilities, and even the most upright use of power, will not compensate for the ill means of acquiring it; and the time arrived, when Boris paid the price for the assassination of Demetrius. The death and character of Boris Godunof are thus delineated by an impartial historian †.

“ The party of the pretended Demetrius increased daily, and the Russians flocked to him from all quarters. This circumstance, joined to the inactivity of the Russian army, had such an effect upon Boris, that, driven to despair, he swallowed poison ‡. The accounts are false, which attribute his death to a poison given to him by one Peter Bosmanof; or which relate that while he was giving audience to some foreign ambassadors, he was seized with a violent colic, and soon afterwards the blood gushed from his mouth, nose, and ears. He felt the first effects of the poison at dinner, and the symptoms were so violent, that he had scarcely time to enter into the monastic order before he expired. According to the Russian custom, he changed his name from Boris to Bogolep. His decease happened on the 13th of April, or the 23d, according to the new style, 1605, after a reign of eight years and two months.

“ It must be allowed that his death was a great loss to Russia; for if we except the unjustifiable means by which he raised himself to the throne, and the cruelty with

* This report, Mr. Muller conjectures, arose from his compelling the bishops and nobles, who had a superfluity of corn, to dispose of it to the poor at an under price.

S. R. G. V.

† Muller, *Ibid.* p. 247.

‡ Captain Margaret says, that he died of an apoplexy. *Etat de la Russie*, p. 118.

“ which he persecuted several illustrious families, particu-
 “ larly the house of Romanof, he must be esteemed an ex-
 “ cellent sovereign. Ambition and revenge were his prin-
 “ cipal vices ; on the contrary, his penetration and sagacity,
 “ his affability and munificence, his political knowledge, his
 “ diligence in the administration of affairs, his assiduity in
 “ introducing into Russia the improvements of foreign na-
 “ tions, in a word, his unwearied attention to promote the
 “ advantage of his country, and the welfare of his subjects,
 “ were conspicuous parts of his character. We are apt to
 “ overlook the vices of a sovereign in consideration of his
 “ princely virtues, and in this respect Boris is entitled to our
 “ esteem. When we add to these considerations the long
 “ chain of calamities which succeeded his death, his loss
 “ could not but be sensibly felt.” His remains were at first
 deposited in the Imperial sepulchre at Moscow ; but were
 afterwards removed to the convent of the Holy Trinity *.

* For the history of Boris Godunof, see Muller. S. R. G. vol. V. p. 27 to 249.

C H A P, VII.

Inquiry into the history and adventures of the tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius.—His reception in Poland.—Invasion of Russia.—Acknowledged as the son of Ivan Vassilievitch II.—Seats himself upon the throne.—His character.—Conspiracy against him.—Is assassinated.—Various opinions concerning him.—Called an impostor by the Russian historians.—By Petreius.—Testimony of Margaret in his favour.—Grounds for supposing him to be the real Demetrius.

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AMONG the tombs in the cathedral of St. Michael I had occasion to mention that of a child, called by the Russians Dmitri, or Demetrius, whose intricate and controverted history was reserved for a separate narrative.

Ivan * Vassilievitch II. left two sons; Feodor, who succeeded to the throne; and Demetrius, an infant, who was educated at Uglitz under the care of his mother the tzarina

* I had entirely finished this chapter before the publication of L'Evesque's *Histoire de Russie*. That ingenious author has, in his account of the person who styled himself Demetrius, advanced many plausible arguments to show, that he was probably not an impostor; and though they appear to me unanswerable, and it is easy to perceive that he entirely leans to that opinion, yet he candidly concludes with asserting, "Plusieurs objections que j'ai hasardées contre l'imposture d'Otrépief me paraissent d'une grande force, je n'oserai cependant décider la question." See *Hist. de Russ.*

V. III. p. 226 to 236. It may serve, perhaps, as an additional proof in favour of Demetrius, that two foreigners, who had visited Russia, both unbiassed by any national prejudices, and without the least communication with each other, should hold nearly the same opinion upon so intricate a subject. I have inserted into the notes a few of his remarks, which seemed to me the most important. I am also informed, that the learned professor Schloetzer of Gottingen has strongly supported this side of the question, in his *Nordische Geschichte*.

Maria Feodorofna, and in the eighth year of his age was said to have been assassinated by order of Boris Godunof *. The real circumstances of this assassination, being purposely withheld from the public, are variously related; and the following particulars can alone be unquestionably depended upon. A body, supposed to be that of the young prince, was found weltering in its blood; certain persons, considered as the assassins, were instantaneously put to death by the inhabitants of Uglitz. When the account of the catastrophe was transmitted to Moscow, Boris Godunof, having first spread a report that Demetrius had, in a violent fit of frenzy, put a period to his own life, dispatched his creatures Vassili Shuiski and Cletchnin to make inquiries into the circumstances of the prince's death. These persons, having examined the body of the deceased, declared it to be that of Demetrius, and confirmed the former report which had been circulated by Boris Godunof. Maria Feodorofna, accused of gross inattention to her son's security, was compelled to assume the veil, and confined in a convent; many inhabitants of Uglitz, who spoke freely upon the murder, were capitally punished, some were imprisoned, and others were banished.

* Muller relates from a Russian manuscript, that twelve persons were privy to the murder, amongst whom were the prince's nurse and her son, who perpetrated the deed; that it was committed at mid-day in the court yard of the palace, and that a bell-ringer, who was upon the top of an adjoining cathedral, saw the whole transaction. Petreus asserts, that the prince was murdered during the confusion of a fire, purposely occasioned by one of the assassins. Margaret and Grevenbuok say that the assassin was son of the tzarina Maria's secretary; and it is generally affirmed, that it happened at midnight.—The Russian authors naturally prefer the first account, because it

was more difficult at mid-day to substitute a child. We need not be surprized at these contradictory opinions, when we consider, as L'Evesque has justly expressed himself, "que Boris supprima tous les détails de cet horrible affaire; qu'il trompa le tzar et le public. Le public fut donc alors mal instruit des circonstances de cet événement, et le temps n'a pu y ajouter que de nouvelles obscurités. D'ailleurs, comme le dit Margaret, on observait en Russie un secret si profond sur toutes les affaires, qu'il était fort difficile d'apprendre la vérité de ce qu'on n'avait pas vu de ses yeux." V. III. p. 228.

TRAVELS INTO RUSSIA.

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Boris Godunof managed this horrid transaction with such art and secrecy, that scarcely any suspicions were entertained against him, until thirteen years afterwards a person made his appearance who declared himself to be Demetrius ; he gave out that his mother, suspicious of the attempts against her son's life, had taken the precaution to remove him from Uglitz, and to substitute another child, who was assassinated in his place ; and that, being educated in a convent, and concealed from the knowledge of his persecutors, he had escaped from Russia into Poland. Being there admitted into the service of Wiesnovitski, a Pole of great distinction, he discovered himself to that nobleman ; who, convinced, or pretending to be so, that he was the son of Ivan Vassilievitch II. warmly espoused his cause. Boris Godunof, having received intelligence of this unexpected claimant of his throne, disseminated a report, that the impostor who assumed the name of Demetrius, was a monk styled Gregory or Griska Otrepiet ; and spared neither threats nor bribes to obtain possession of his person ; but, when these expedients failed of success, he dispatched his emissaries into Poland to assassinate him.

Wiesnovitski, alarmed for the safety of his fugitive, recommended him to the protection of the senator George Mnishek palatine of Sendomir, a nobleman of the largest estate and greatest consequence of Poland. Demetrius (if I may be allowed to call him by that name) being acknowledged by him as the rightful heir of the Russian throne, soon afterwards betrothed himself in marriage to the palatine's daughter Maria ; and, in the beginning of the year 1603, was introduced to Sigismund III. king of Poland. Being admitted to a public audience before the diet, he excited the compassion of that assembly by the affecting manner in which

which he related his extraordinary adventures ; and though Sigismond and the diet regretted that the situation of their country prevented them from openly seconding his pretensions, yet they testified the most cordial attachment to his interests, and laid no prohibition on those nobles who might be disposed to engage in his support. By the assistance of his two patrons, Wiesnovitski and the palatine of Sendomir, Demetrius entered Russia in the month of August, 1604, at the head of about 4000 Poles, and being soon joined by many Russians, particularly by the Cossacs of the Don, advanced almost without opposition to Novogorod Severskoi, routed in December an army of 40,000 men ; but was himself not long afterwards defeated, with great slaughter, by prince Vassili Shuiski general of Boris Godunof. Eight thousand of his followers were either killed or taken prisoners ; all his artillery and colours fell into the hands of the enemy ; his horse was wounded under him, and he himself escaped with difficulty.

This overthrow occasioned the almost total defection of the Polish troops ; and Demetrius himself was so dismayed with his loss, that he would have retreated precipitately into Poland, if he had not been dissuaded by the importunities of his Russian adherents, many of whom believed him to be the true Demetrius, and all dreaded the vengeance of Boris Godunof. Overcome by their suggestions, he continued his march, and, notwithstanding his late discomfiture, soon saw himself at the head of a numerous army of Russians, who flocked to his standard from all quarters. Not only the populace, ever prone to credulity, but even men of the highest birth and quality, gave credit to his pretensions : his cause was supported not only by the distant provinces, but the people rose even at Moscow, and publicly proclaimed

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III. in the streets that Demetrius had escaped from his assassins, and claimed allegiance as their rightful sovereign. This insurrection was indeed immediately quelled; but an almost universal belief spread itself through all ranks, that the pretender to the throne was the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch II. although Boris Godunof inflicted the severest punishment upon his adherents, though the patriarch published a ban of excommunication against him and his party, and though Vassili Shuiski openly affirmed that he had himself examined the body of the deceased prince at Uglitz.

The sudden death of Boris Godunof, which happened in the month of April, 1605, hastened the success of Demetrius. Feodor Borisovitch was scarcely declared successor to his father by the patriarch and nobles who were present at Moscow, before he was deserted by the principal generals of the Russian army, and by many persons of distinction. His troops at this inauspicious juncture were suddenly attacked and defeated, and those who escaped were persuaded to swear fealty to Demetrius, who, strengthened by this accession, advanced by hasty marches towards the capital without the least opposition: the highways were lined with people; the towns opened their gates with every demonstration of joy, while Demetrius supported the prepossession of the Russians in favour of his birth by the affability of his demeanour, and the gracefulness of his person. Having published a manifesto, in which he held out to the inhabitants of Moscow offers of clemency and favour on their return to their duty, they rose in arms, stormed the palace, deposed and strangled Feodor Borisovitch, and recognized his title. On the 30th of June the new czar entered Moscow in triumph, and took possession of the throne with universal approbation. His pretensions to the crown, as real son of Ivan Vassilievitch

vitch II. were still further confirmed by the public testimony of Maria Feodorofna, whom Boris Godunof had imprisoned in a distant monastery, and whom Demetrius, at his accession, instantly released from her confinement. Upon her approach to Moscow, on the 8th of July, Demetrius rode to meet her at the head of a numerous procession; and at the first appearance of her carriage, he alighted from his horse, and ran to embrace her. The tenderness and affection which both parties displayed on this interesting occasion drew tears from the spectators; and the strong expressions of transport with which the tzarina openly acknowledged him for her son, seemed to afford a positive confirmation of the reality of his imperial lineage. Soon after this interview he was crowned with the usual pomp and magnificence, and seemed now firmly seated upon the throne; in the possession of which he would have maintained himself, whether he were the real Demetrius or an impostor, by a proper conformity to the manners of his subjects, and by a prudent deference to their civil and religious establishment. But his avowed contempt of the Russian customs, and, above all, his public neglect of their religious ceremonies, soon alienated the affections of his subjects, and precipitated him from the throne as rapidly as he had ascended it.

Margaret, who had frequent access to the person of Demetrius, has sketched his portrait in the following short, but lively manner. “He had no beard, was of a middle stature, and of dark complexion, his limbs were strong and nervous, and he had a wart under his right eye. He was active, spirited, and merciful, soon offended, and as soon appeased; liberal, ambitious, and desirous of making himself known to posterity; in a word, he was a prince who loved honour, and recommended it

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“ by his own example *.” If we should allow that Margaret has concealed many of his defects, and has placed his virtues in the most advantageous light, yet the acrimony and injustice which appear in many parts of the following extracts from his character, as drawn even by Mr. Muller the most candid of his opponents, will prevent every impartial person from giving implicit credit to the representations of his enemies.

“ The false † Demetrius was of a middle size, dark complexion, and had one of his arms shorter than the other. He would have been esteemed not deficient in wisdom if he had not been so precipitate in his conduct, and if he had conformed his behaviour to the disposition and temper of his subjects. In Poland he applied himself to the study of languages, arts, and sciences; he conversed in Latin ‡ and Polish with fluency; he was well acquainted with history, and particularly with that of Russia and the neighbouring kingdoms; he was well versed in musick, and possessed other liberal accomplishments. On account of his address and good fortune in obtaining the crown, he was esteemed a magician. Warlike exercise and hunting were his principal amusements. He had some knowledge of engineering and artillery, was fond of casting cannon; and shot with such skill and address as to surprize the most dextrous marksmen. He was anxious to improve the discipline of his army, for which purpose he would often review his troops, instruct them in different manœuvres, storm ramparts and fortifications; and as he was always

* Margaret, p. 141.

† S. R. G. vol. V. p. 302, &c.

‡ His understanding Latin has been urged against him as a proof that he was educated by the Jesuits. Margaret, however, posi-

tively asserts, that he was not in the least acquainted with that language. Il est très certain qu'il ne parloit nullement Latin, j'en puis temoigner, moins le sçavoit il lire et ecrire. Ibid. p. 163.

“ foremost, and the most eager among the assailants, he frequently was rudely handled in the fray.

“ Desirous to be esteemed a patron of justice, he put to death several judges who had been convicted of iniquitous practices. But was not this mode of proceeding rather a proof of his inclination to cruelty? and might it not arise from a desire of striking terror into his subjects *?

“ He has been praised for his munificence, but it was both extravagant and ill-placed; he heaped bounties upon Polish musicians and other minions, and drained the treasury by the most enormous expences†. Like all voluptuaries he was fickle and impetuous. All his actions proved an extraordinary proneness to prefer his own precipitate resolutions to the most prudent advice, and to adopt the rashest measures. His sudden elevation rendered him insolent; he was so ambitious, that even the Russian empire appeared too small to satisfy his lust of dominion; and he extended his views to the reduction of Turkey and Tartary. His ebriety and incontinence were his most notorious vices, which frequently exposed him in the eyes of the public. Beside the princess Irene, the daughter of Boris Godunof, all who pleased him were sacrificed to his desires, without the least regard to rank or age ‡.

“ Upon

* A supposition, which shows a strong disposition in the opposite party to misrepresent the most favourable parts of his conduct.

† The accounts of his extravagance were grossly exaggerated. He is said to have given orders for a throne of massy silver, supported with six lions of the same costly materials; and for a footstool of pure gold, for the ceremony of his coronation: the latter was studded with 600 diamonds, 600 rubies, 600 sapphires, 600 emeralds, 600

Turkish stones, all of a large size, but some of the latter were as big as half a pigeon's egg. It must be remarked, that this footstool was already in the treasury when Demetrius ascended the throne; and had been presented from the Sophy of Persia to Ivan Vasilievitch II. S. R. G. vol. V. p. 335. Many similar ornaments employed at his coronation had been used by the former sovereigns; who were crowned with Asiatic magnificence.

‡ These parts of his conduct were also greatly

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“ Upon his first accession to the throne he was easy of ac-
 “ cefs, but he gradually became fufpicious of his fubjects ;
 “ he had a foreign guard ; he often refufed audience to the
 “ Ruffian nobility, when he admitted the Poles without re-
 “ ferve. He feemed to fummon the privy-counfellors only
 “ for the purpofe of turning them to ridicule. If a Ruffian
 “ lodged a complaint againft a Pole, he could never obtain
 “ juftice, and infult was even added to injury. Probably this
 “ infolence was the chief caufe of his fubfequent misfor-
 “ tunes ; and his fall would at leaft have been retarded, if he
 “ had endeavoured to conciliate the affection of the principal
 “ nobles.

“ But the circumftance which principally contributed to
 “ his lofs of popularity, was the little reverence which he
 “ profefled for the ceremonies of the Greek church. Upon
 “ his firft arrival at Mofcow he entered the two cathedrals
 “ with drums beating and trumpets founding ; he paid no
 “ refpect to the clergy ; he made no diftinction between
 “ fafts and feftivals ; would neither bow nor crofs himfelf
 “ before the facred paintings ; he profaned the churches by
 “ admitting foreigners at the time of divine fervice, and
 “ ftill more by the number of dogs which followed him
 “ upon the fame occafion. •

“ He was not only fo much attached to the Polifh cuftoms
 “ and drefs as to prefer them upon all occafions ; but he even
 “ ridiculed the Ruffian manners, and in every inftance de-

greatly misrepresented. L'Eveſque afferts, with great appearance of probability, that theſe reports of his incontinence were not founded in truth, and particularly denies that the princeſs Irene was ſacrificed to his deſires. “ On a écrit, qu'elle avoit été reſervée pour ſervir aux plaifirs brutaux du bourreau “ de ſa famille ; mais cette accuſation,

“ dictée par la haine, n'eſt ni vraifemblable “ ni confirmée par l'ancienne chronique que “ nous ſuivons, et qui paraît fidele. On “ peut en croire que Dmitri fut un impoſ- “ teur ; mais rien ne fait ſouſçonner, qu'il “ fut adonné à de ſales debauches.” V. III. p. 202.

" viated from the examples of the tzars his predecessors. CHAP. VII.
 " Instead of showing himself to the people seldom, and only
 " upon extraordinary occasions with a large retinue, he was
 " accustomed to traverse the streets without any suite but a
 " few servants ; he commonly rode, and, as he was an ex-
 " cellent horseman, he was generally mounted upon the
 " most fiery steeds ; he hunted frequently ; he had musick
 " at his repasts ; he never slept at mid-day ; he never bathed.
 " These trifling circumstances were at that time regarded in-
 " so serious a light, that the omission of them rendered him
 " the object of general hatred ; and it was commonly reported,
 " that the person who could show such a distaste for the cus-
 " toms of his country, could never be descended from the
 " race of its ancient sovereigns. It was an obvious inference,
 " to consider the despiser of his subjects as their enemy.
 " Under such circumstances his destruction seemed inevit-
 " able * ; and yet near a year elapsed before any tumult
 " broke

* Mr. Muller, in this place, relates an account of a match with snow-balls between the Russian soldiers and the Poles ; when the latter were said, at the command of Demetrius, to have filled their snow-balls with sand and stones, by which the Russians (*blaue Augen und blütige Koeöpfe bekamen*) received many black eyes and bloody heads. Such absurd accusations do not merit any serious refutation. Many other idle tales are also gravely related against him ; and indeed every circumstance of his conduct seems to have been malevolently interpreted. Among the public diversions which he gave in honour of his marriage was a fire-work, in which a dragon was represented with three heads spitting out flames. Such a spectacle, being uncommon in the country, affrighted the Russians ; and it was reported, that the tzar had contrived it on purpose to alarm his subjects. The Poles were not

wanting upon this and all other occasions in ridiculing the ignorance and simplicity of the Russians, which increased the hatred against them and the sovereign who protected them. A wooden tower was also constructed near the city, which, upon a certain day, was to be attacked with a cannonade and stormed. After the assassination of Demetrius, Vassili Shuiski publicly asserted in a manifesto, that it was the intention of Demetrius to have taken the opportunity, which the storming of this tower presented, of massacring many inhabitants of Moscow. The gates of the city were to be suddenly shut ; the cannon to be fired among the people assembled upon the occasion ; and those who escaped were to be hewn in pieces by the Cossacks and Strelitz. At the same time the Russian nobles were to be murdered by the Polish troops. This account, so improbable in itself, is only supported

BOOK III. "broke out against him. At length his marriage with a
 "foreign lady closed the scene; and it would have been a
 "wonder if he had continued any longer upon the throne."

Having in Poland betrothed himself to Marina, the daughter of the palatine Mnischek, he dispatched a splendid embassy into that country to demand her in marriage: the espousals were performed at Cracow; and the bride, having made her entry into Moscow, accompanied with a large suite of Poles, was lodged in a nunnery until the solemnization of the nuptials: during this interval he disturbed the devotion of the holy sisterhood with repeated feasts, concerts, and balls, whereby he excited publick horror, as the sacrilegious violator of religious discipline. By this infatuated behaviour he inflamed the disaffection of his subjects to such a degree, that a regular conspiracy was concerted against him. The leader of this conspiracy was prince Vassili Ivanovitch Shuiski, the same person who had owed his life to the lenity of Demetrius; and on whom this act of clemency had no other effect than to render him more cautious in his subsequent machinations against his benefactor. Demetrius had frequently received intimations from different quarters of a projected insurrection. The popular odium betrayed itself by the most alarming symptoms. Persons were heard crying in the streets, "The tzar is an heretic worse than a Turk, and
 "not the son of Ivan Vassilievitch." But, whether from natural magnanimity that braved all danger, or from the inconsiderate levity of his character, which would not attend to it, he was insensible to all these prognostics; and by obsti-

supported by the supposed confession of two Polish nobles, to whom Demetrius is said to have revealed it a day or two before his assassination; but we may more justly believe

it to have been a calumny, invented by Vassili Shuiski, to render the memory of his rival more odious. See S. R. C. vol. V. 342—346.

nately

nately persevering in his obnoxious and unpopular mode of conduct, seemed almost to invite the destruction which awaited him. CHAP.
VII.

The insurrection broke out early in the morning on the 27th of May. The conspirators possessed themselves of the principal avenues leading to the city; the great bell in the Kremlin, the common signal of alarm, was tolled; and a confused cry was spread among the people that the Poles were preparing to massacre the inhabitants. Vassili Shuiski, who had secretly fomented and inflamed the public discontents, led the way to the palace, bearing a cross in one hand, and a sabre in the other, accompanied by a vast multitude armed with the first weapons which chance presented. This party, having overpowered the guards, burst open the gates of the palace, and rushed towards the apartment of Demetrius. The latter, awakened by the tumult, summoned the few guards who were immediately about his person, and falling, without a moment's deliberation, against his assailants, hewed down several of the foremost: being soon overborn by numbers, he attempted to retreat into the interior part of the palace; but, closely pressed by his pursuers, he precipitated himself from a window into a court, and dislocated his thigh with the fall.

Being discovered in this deplorable condition, he was conveyed back to the palace, and brought before Vassili Shuiski, who loaded him with reproaches for his imposture. Not dismayed, however, with the menaces of his enemy, he persisted * in maintaining himself to be the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch II. and, as a proof of the truth of his assertion,

* Mr. Muller says, all the Russian writers declare, that he confessed his imposture; but it is certain that he did not; otherwise, why did Vassili Shuiski repair to

the convent to obtain the tzarina's declaration, when his own confession would have been fully sufficient?

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appealed to the testimony of his mother, who resided in the neighbouring convent of Viefnovitskoi. The firmness and consistency of his asseverations made a considerable impression upon many of the Russian soldiers, who peremptorily declared, that they would protect him from all injury, unless Maria Feodorofna formally renounced him as her son. On this unexpected declaration, Vassili Shuiski, accompanied with some Russian nobles of his party, repaired to the convent, and returned instantly with the following answer from that princess; "That the real Demetrius was slain at Uglitz; that the person who at present assumed his name was an impostor; and that she had been constrained by menaces to acknowledge him as her son." Upon the delivery of this message, the unhappy monarch was instantly sacrificed to the fury of his enemies. Neither was their vengeance appeased by his death, but extended even to his inanimate corpse; it was pierced with repeated wounds, stripped naked, and exposed for three days in the streets to the insults of the populace; it was then deposited in the public charnel-house, and afterwards * reduced to ashes, from a notion that the earth would be polluted by the interment of so unholy a body.

The assassination of Demetrius was followed by a general tumult: the houses of all the foreigners were pillaged, and not only the Poles, who fell into the hands of the people, but even many Russians who wore the Polish dress, were mas-

* It seems, by other accounts, that the body was first buried without the city; and that the multitude flocked in crowds to the place. "The common people believed that musick was heard in the night, and that spectres were seen hovering about the place where he was buried. For these reasons the body was dug up, and shot

"from the mouth of a cannon." Schmidt. R. G. vol. I. p. 362. The author of the Russian Impostor also writes, "The people dug up his poor carcass out of an obscure grave; and after a repetition of barbarities upon him, they burnt the body, and scattered the ashes in the air." p. 125.

sacred. Though this state of anarchy lasted only ten hours, yet more than two thousand persons lost their lives. The dreadful scene was finally closed by the election of Vassili Ivanovitch Shuiski to the throne of Russia. Manifestos * were immediately published, in which the new tzar justified his conduct, and detailed the history and adventures of his predecessor, whom he pronounced an adventurer, whose real name was Griska Otrepief. He ascribes to him an intention of extirpating the principal Russian nobility, and of introducing the Roman catholic religion into Russia; he accuses him of holding a correspondence with the pope for that purpose; he insinuates that he had even promised to cede the provinces of Smolensko and Severia to the king of Poland; he represents him as an heretic and a forcerer; he displays, in the most odious colours, his aversion to the manners and customs of the Russians, his attachment to foreigners; and expatiates with much art upon every part of his character which might excite the public hatred and abhorrence. A few days afterwards a manifesto appeared in the name of the zarina Maria Feodorovna, in which she apologizes for having owned the impostor for her son, and again acknowledges that the real Demetrius was assassinated at Uglitz; that the impostor, upon their first interview near Moscow, first accosted her alone †, and threatened her and her family with the most cruel torments, if she refused to recognize him as her offspring.

* Mr. Muller found these manifestos in the archives of Tsherdin. S. R. G. 347. 364. 366.

† Habe mit ihr geredet ohne daß jemand von den Boiaren, oder andern Leuten, dabei seyn doerfen. S. R. G. vol. V. p. 367.

Margaret, on the contrary, who was probably present at this interview, says expressly, "après conferences d'un quart d'heur, en presence des tous les nobles et de ceux de la ville," &c. p. 125.

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III.

All these allegations, however, thus urged against the pretensions of Demetrius, could not efface the prepossessions entertained by the generality of the Russians in favour of his imperial descent. A fresh insurrection was hourly expected; and some transient tumults took place, in which Vassili Shuiski narrowly escaped destruction. In this critical state of affairs he had recourse to the following expedient, for the purpose of appeasing the public suspicions. A rumour being spread, that the body of the young prince, formerly murdered at Uglitz, had performed miracles; a deputation of several bishops and nobles was sent to that town to take up the hallowed corpse from the sepulchre, and to transport it to Moscow.

“ Upon opening the tomb,” relates Mr. Muller from the Russian archives, “ an agreeable odour filled the whole church: the body was uncorrupted, and the very clothes entire; one of his hands grasped some nuts that were sprinkled with blood, and which the young prince had been eating at the instant of his assassination. His relics were carried in great state to Moscow: on their approach to the city they were met by Vassili Shuiski, the widow of Ivan Vassilievitch II. and a large concourse of people, and deposited with much solemnity in the cathedral of St. Michael. During the procession many troubled with various disorders were miraculously restored to health: after the body had been placed in the cathedral, thirteen sick persons declared themselves to have been relieved of their complaints by the interposition of the saint; and the same number were healed on the ensuing day*.”

Let us contrast this account with the relation of the opposite party. “ On the 4th of June a dispute concerning De-

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 371.

“metrius arose between the Strelitz and the people, who asserted that he was not an impostor. The tzar and the boyars cry out, The people shall have ocular conviction that the true Demetrius was killed at Uglitz; his body is now removing to Moscow, and has performed many stupendous miracles. The boyars procured a poor man’s child, about thirteen years of age, cut its throat, and having committed it for a few days to the ground, conveyed it to Moscow, showed it to the people, and declared this was the true Demetrius, whose body, although so long interred, was still uncorrupted, which the foolish multitude believed, and were appeased*.”

The reader will judge which of these two accounts is most likely to be true.

These are the principal circumstances in the adventures of the person, who seated himself upon the Russian throne under the name of Demetrius. His history is greatly involved in contradiction and obscurity: unbiassed, however, by the prejudices of either party, let us compare with candour their opposite representations; and endeavour to ascertain, whether he were an impostor, or the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch II.

They who contend that he was an impostor, thus relate his history. He was of the family of Otrepief; his real name was George, which, upon his assuming the monastic habit in the fourteenth year of his age, he changed into Gregory, and was generally known by the appellation of Gritka † Otrepief: for some time he resided at Susdal, and having afterwards wandered from convent to convent, he was consecrated deacon in the monastery of Tchudof at Moscow,

* Payerne in Schmidt Russ. Gef. vol. I, p. 364.

† Gritka, in the Russian tongue, signifies

little Gregory. He was called also Rostriga, or Deserter, from having quitted his convent.

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where he was employed by the patriarch in transcribing books for the service of the church. It is not ascertained, even from these accounts of his life, at what period he first styled himself Demetrius. Some report, that while he continued in the monastery of Tchudof, he obtained the most minute information relative to the person and character of the prince, and even began to assume his name, for which he was deemed insane, and excited the laughter of the monks. Others relate, that he was in possession of several jewels which had formerly belonged to Demetrius; and, having one day declared that he should ascend the throne of Russia, he was confined, by order of Boris Godunof, in a distant monastery, from whence he escaped into Poland; his adventures in which country have been already delineated. On the contrary, Margaret, who asserts that he is the true Demetrius, gives the following detail.

Demetrius, being rescued from assassination by the substitution * of another child, was secretly educated in Russia until

* The principal objection against the account of Margaret arises from the difficulty of substituting a child in the place of Demetrius, particularly if the son of his nurse was one of the assassins; and as Vassili Shuiski is said to have examined the body of the deceased, soon after the supposed assassination. In answer to this it may be said, that his mother had sufficient reasons to be upon her guard against the attempts of Boris Godunof; and it is evident that such attempts had been made previous to the assassination, from the following passage in Fletcher, who was at Moscow in the beginning of Feodor's reign. "Besides the emperor (that now is, who hath no child, nor ever like to have, there is but one more, a child of six or seven years old, in whom resteth all the hope of the suc-

cession, and the posterity of that house. He is kept in a remote place from Mosko, under the tuition of his mother, and her kindred of the house of the Nagaies; yet *not safe* (as I have heard) from attempts of making away by practice of some that aspire to the succession, if this emperor die without issue." Fletcher's Russia, Chap. V.

"Il est assez à presupposer," as Margaret justly observes, "que la mere & les autres, &c. voyant ce but où le dit Boris tendoit, essayerent par tous moyens à delivrer l'enfant du danger où il estoit. Or je scay et je crois que l'on confessera qu'il n'y avoit nul autre moyen que de le changer et en supposer un autre en sa place, et le faire nourrir secretement, en attendant si le temps ne changeroit ou empêcheroit point les desseins du dit Boris Federvits. Ce

until the election of Boris Godunof, when he was conveyed into Poland under the care of the monk Griska, which afterwards gave rise to the report that Griska had personated Demetrius. As a proof that they were two distinct persons, he informs us, that Boris Godunof sent repeated expresses to his guards upon the frontiers, to prevent all travellers from quitting the country, even should they be provided with passports, for there were *two traitors* who were endeavouring to escape into Poland. Margaret adds, Griska was thirty-five years of age, and Demetrius scarcely twenty-four; he accompanied the new tzar to Moscow, and was seen by many in that city, being a person well known, and having a brother who possessed an estate near Galitz: he was notorious before his flight into Poland for his insolence and drunkenness, and, on account of his misconduct, he was banished by Demetrius to Yaroslaf. Margaret, moreover, was informed by an English merchant of Yaroslaf, well acquainted with Griska, that the latter, upon the news of the tzar's death,

“Ce qu'ils effectuèrent si bien que nuls, fors ceux de la partie n'en firent rien,” &c. p. 154.

With respect to the privacy of the nurse, and her son, the witness of the bell-ringer, and the testimony of Vassili Shuiski, L'Evesque makes the following judicious observations.

“Mais ces circonstances sont elles bien confirmées. Tous les assassins du tzarévitch furent massacrés presqu' aussitôt qu'ils eurent commis ce crime. Ils n'ont point été interrogés, on n'a rien su de leur bouche. Un ionneur de la cathédrale fut témoin du meurtre de Dmitri. Mais qui a reçu son témoignage? Est il même certain que ce témoin ait existé? Si les assassins furent trompés, n'ait il pas pu l'être lui même, et prendre pour le tzarévitch un enfant du même âge! Ne convient-on pas que Boris, &c. Mais Chouiski mais Clechnin furent envoyés

à Ouglitch par Boris; ils virent et reconnurent le corps du tzarévitch et lui rendirent les honneurs funebres. Eh! fait on ce qu'ont vu ces deux emissaires de Boris, ce qu'ils lui ont rapporté en secret? Le corps même qu'ils examinèrent, défiguré par des blessures, et gardé long-temps sans être embaumé, devait être méconnaissable. On ignore absolument ce qu'ils ont découvert, et ce qu'ils ont pensé. S'ils ont débité à leur retour une fable concertée entr'eux et le ministre, ils n'ont pu dans le suite faire connaître la vérité, sans avouer qu'ils avoient été des fourbes vendus à un scélérat,” &c. Vol. III. p. 227.—In a word, the belief that a child was substituted in the place of Demetrius, though liable to many objections, is yet attended with much fewer difficulties, than the notion that the tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius was an impostor.

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and even after the election of Vassili Shuiski, solemnly protested that the said Demetrius was the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch; and that he himself was Griska Otrepief, who had conducted the prince into Poland. Soon afterwards Griska was conveyed to Moscow by order of Vassili Shuiski, and totally disappeared*.

If this narrative is authentic, according to the confession of Mr. Muller, it completely refutes the representation of the opposite party. In what manner then does this ingenious author attempt to discredit the positive testimony of Margaret; for upon this the whole question seems to turn. "But how," says he, "can we imagine, that any one could ever hold two persons to be the same individual, at a time when the contrary could be so easily proved?" The contrary indeed could be easily proved during the reign of Demetrius, when Griska was at Moscow or at Yaroslaf, and at a time when few Russians doubted the fact; but the assertion was not so easy to be refuted when Griska was sent no one knows where, and when no person durst contradict the manifesto of Vassili Shuiski. "Let us suppose," adds Mr. Muller, "that the opposite party, in defiance of all truth, had first invented so groundless a fable; let us suppose, that Griska was immediately banished, as soon as the enemies of Demetrius had made the latter pass for that monk; how does it happen that no writer, beside Margaret†, has taken notice of so remarkable a circumstance?"

* Margaret, 152 to 157.

† Margaret, however, does not stand single in supposing Griska and him who passed for Demetrius to be distinct persons. For, among others, Conrad Buffau, who was present at Moscow during the troubles, as-

serts, that Demetrius was the natural son of Stephen Bathori king of Poland, which is sufficient to show that the report was rise at that time of Griska and the other being different persons. S. R. G. vol. V. p. 191.

It is generally allowed that one good evidence ought to outweigh a croud of prejudiced witnesses, so that if Margaret's credibility is superior to that of his opponents, we must, though he stands single, assent to the truth of his account. And who are the writers whose authority is preferred to that of Margaret? The native historians, who wrote after the accession of Vassili Shuiski.—But their testimony cannot be admitted in this case; for could any Russian venture to contradict the manifesto of the sovereign, or call in question the sanctity of the relics established by a decree of the church *?

It must be confessed, however, that there is one author who is not liable to these suspicions. "Petreius," continues Mr. Muller, "has given, in many instances, the most exact intelligence; and he has demonstrated the imposture of the false Demetrius with many proofs. Is it possible, therefore, to suppose him ignorant that Demetrius and Griska were two different persons, if that fact had been well grounded?" Here then the testimony of Petreius is put in the scale with that of Margaret, both foreigners,

* It may perhaps be thought by many too bold to set aside the authority of all the Russian historians, who may be supposed to have obtained better intelligence than foreigners. But Mr. Muller calls in question the testimony of a Russian ambassador in favour of Demetrius, because he wrote at a time when the latter was upon the throne, and acknowledged by the whole nation: for the same reason, therefore, we must set aside the evidence of the Russians who wrote after his assassination, and at a time when his being an impostor was made an article of the public faith.

And, indeed, if it is considered from what suspicious memorials the Russian authors must have drawn their materials, this mode of

proceeding will not appear unjustifiable. Of all the Russian writings relating to the history of Demetrius, cited by Mr. Muller, the principal are the manifestos of Shuiski, and a manuscript account of the troubles, compiled by order of the czar Michael, and sent to the king of France as a justification of the war entered into against Sweden. But such documents issuing from government must in this instance be allowed to be very exceptionable records.—In all affairs, wherein the national prejudices are not concerned, the evidence of a native is to be preferred to that of foreigners; but the testimony of the latter becomes superior, when the former are warped by fear or prejudice.

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both present at Moscow at the time of the insurrection, and both supposed to be unbiassed by the civil and religious prejudices of the Russians, and yet both of different sentiments. Let us therefore examine their character and situation, and consider whether there are any circumstances which render one writer more worthy of credit than the other. Margaret was a Frenchman, who entered the Russian service in the reign of Boris Godunof, was present in the army which was sent out against Demetrius, and always acted with approved bravery and fidelity. Afterwards, when Demetrius ascended the throne, he was continued in his service as captain of the guards. He possessed, therefore, many opportunities of investigating his real history; and he has recorded it in a work which, upon his return to France, he published at the command of Henry IV. *

Mr. Muller, however, objects to the authenticity of Margaret's narrative in the following words. "A witness of this sort would not be admitted in any court of justice, and cannot, in this instance, merit our belief. His judgement might be warped, partly from considering it as a disgrace to have engaged in the service of an impostor, and partly from not being well used by the opposite party after the death of the false Demetrius. Hence he might be enticed, from motives of resentment, to brand with infamy the enemies of Demetrius, and to treat as mere falsehoods all the reports of the impostor's real origin. We must, therefore, accuse Margaret either of having advanced a falsehood, or suppose that he had heard of another Quetpief, who was at that time present at Moscow, and whom he strangely confounds with Griska †."

* *État de l'Empire de Russie, &c. Par le Capitaine Margaret.*

† *S. R. G. vol. V. p. 182 and 193.*

This is the only objection which even the ingenuity of Mr. Muller can urge against Margaret. CHAP.
VII.

Petreius, whose authority is so fondly preferred to that of Margaret, was minister* from Charles IX. king of Sweden to the court of Moscow in the reigns of Boris Godunof, Demetrius, and Vassili Shuiski. The close connection of Demetrius with Sigismund king of Poland, the inveterate enemy of Charles IX. induced the latter to tender his assistance to Boris Godunof, upon the first entrance of the new claimant into Russia. Charles is also represented as greatly alarmed at the success of Demetrius, and immediately after his assassination entered into a treaty of the strictest amity with Vassili Shuiski. It was therefore the interest of the Swedish court to represent Demetrius as an impostor, and Petreius, as Swedish minister, was obliged to countenance the report patronized by his master. But if we should even allow that Petreius was not influenced in his judgment by the politics of his own court, yet as an author, he is liable to great exception; for the numberless fictions and gross misrepresentations, which he retails in his Chronicle, prove his extreme proneness to credulity†. Whereas, on the contrary, the credibility of Margaret stands unimpeached, and even the penetrating sagacity

* Dalin's Geschichte von Schweden, vol. IV. p. 475.

† Mr. Muller has noticed and corrected innumerable errors relative to the most important transactions in the Chronicle of Petreius. It would be endless to mention them. I shall therefore only relate one, which will unquestionably prove the credulity of Petreius. "Feodor Ivanovitch," says that author, "upon his death-bed, being requested by the nobility to name a successor, answered, 'That person to whom I shall deliver my sceptre shall be czar after me.' Soon afterwards he offered it to Feo-

dor Nikititch Romanof; but he delivered it to his brother Alexander, who gave it to a third called John, who presented it to a fourth called Michael. The latter passed it to another nobleman: at last the czar threw the sceptre from him, crying out in a passion, 'Take it who will;' upon which Boris took it up, and the czar died immediately." This idle fable is contradicted by the most authentic records, by the whole history of the subsequent election of Boris Godunof; and yet this is the writer whose authority is opposed to Margaret. See S. R. G. vol. V. p. 64, &c.

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of Mr. Muller himself can only discover in his work a few trifling errors which are of no moment. It appears then, that both as to character and situation, the testimony of Margaret is preferable to that of Petreius; and if the question is to be ultimately decided by one of these two writers, whose authority is the most unquestionable, the tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius was no impostor, but the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch II.

I shall now throw together a number of particulars, which, in addition to those already enumerated, induce me to espouse the opinion that the tzar was no impostor.

1. The conduct of Boris Godunof. 2. Supposed resemblance between the real Demetrius and the person who reigned in his name. 3. His success and conduct upon the throne. 4. Testimony of Maria Feodorofna. 5. Arguments used by the Russians to prove the imposture.

1. The conduct of Boris Godunof plainly demonstrates that he thought him the real Demetrius. For otherwise, why did he not produce Maria Feodorofna, the mother of Demetrius, and obtain her publick avowal that her son was not alive *! Her testimony at that time would have unquestionably ascertained the imposture of the person, who claimed the throne as her offspring. Probably Boris Godunof examined her privately; and, finding her to persist in her assertion, that Demetrius had escaped from Uglitz, he removed her to a convent at a considerable distance from Moscow, that she might not give a sanction to the pretensions of his rival.

2. The supposed resemblance between the prince Demetrius, who was educated at Uglitz, and the person who reigned

* "Puis tant de fausses allegations pour
"persuader le peuple, qu'il estoit un im-
"posteur, sans que jamais Boris voulut in-
"terroger la mere en public, pour temoig-
"ner de ce qui en estoit." Margaret, p. 171.

under his name, comes next under consideration. This resemblance consisted in a wart under the right eye, and in one arm shorter than the other. "But how is it known," says Mr. Muller upon this head, "that the prince had these defects? for they are not mentioned in the Russian narratives, but are only related by foreigners, who had never seen him. May we not therefore suppose them mere inventions, calculated to display some resemblance between the true and false Demetrius*." In answer to this we may reply, that the Russian accounts, evidently compiled long after the period in question, and chiefly taken from the manifestos of government, would never record any circumstance which might tend, in the slightest degree, to favour any likeness between a person whom they styled an impostor, and the young prince. And it may be added, that if the tzar alledged the wart under his right eye, and the shortness of his arm, as proofs of his being the real Demetrius, who can suppose that the prince had not these defects, when there were so many persons of the first distinction who could contradict the truth of the report? "But even allowing the fact," continues Mr. Muller, "the conclusion by no means follows, as the strongest resemblance has been frequently observed between two different persons; and it is likewise possible, that the false Demetrius might have imitated a wart in his face, and have feigned a defect in his arm." It is possible, indeed, to account for these circumstances in this manner; still, however, they must be considered, though not as positive, yet as strong presumptive evidence in his favour, especially when joined to many other collateral proofs.

3. The success of his enterprize, and his conduct upon the throne, seem to prove that he was the real Demetrius. He

entered Russia with an inconsiderable force, which increased as he advanced; and although totally defeated, and almost deserted by the Poles, yet his army was soon recruited, and became more formidable than before his discomfiture. Persons of the first distinction joined him from all quarters; and the more he became personally known to the Russians, the greater number of partizans flocked to his standard. Nor did this seem owing to any want of popularity in Boris Godunof, whose administration was greatly respected for its vigour and wisdom; it rather proceeded from a general conviction that he was Demetrius.

When he was seated upon the throne he did not act like an impostor. Had he been one, he would scarcely have pardoned Vassili Shuiski, who had thrown doubts upon the reality of his descent. Instead of disbelieving, as he did, the strongest reports of an impending insurrection, he would have given a ready ear to the slightest rumours of plots and machinations, and have taken every precaution against them. In a word, his general character was as thoughtless and inconsiderate as it was open and sincere; and, above all, his freedom from suspicion and jealousy were incompatible with the principles of an usurper*.

4. The conduct of Maria Feodorofna must be admitted as supporting the same side of the question. After having

* "Puis parlons," says Margaret, "de sa clemence, envers un chacun après qu'il fut reçu en Mosco, et principalement envers Vacilli Chouitsqui, lequel fut convaincu de trahison, &c. et mesmes fut le dit Demetrius prié par tous les assistans de le faire mourir, veu qu'il s'estoit tous jours trouvé perturbateur du repos public. Je parle comme ayant ouy et veu le tout de mes oreilles. Ce non obstant il luy pardonna, combien que Demetrius

"sçavoit bien que nul n'osoit aspirer à la couronne que la dite maison de Chouitsqui. Il pardonna aussi à plusieurs autres; car il estoit sans soupçon," p. 171.
"Si il se fut senty coupable en aucune chose, il eust eu juste sujet de croire les machinations et trahisons complottées et tramées contre sa personne, de quelles il estoit assez adverty, et y eust dû remédier avec grande facilité," p. 174.

openly acknowledged him for her son, she is said to have publicly disowned him. If both the avowal and denial were equally publick, they both might equally have been extorted by fear; and her testimony must be considered as null. For what credit can that woman deserve who could at one time admit a person to be her son, and at another reject him as such? We may observe, however, this difference, that in the former instance she owned him in person; in the latter, she was not confronted with him, but her answer was brought by Vassili Shuiski *, who was most interested to prove him an impostor. It therefore follows, that if (as seems to be the case) her avowal was publick, and her denial was not, the former is more to be depended upon than the latter, and her testimony must be admitted in his favour †.

5. The very arguments advanced by the Russians to ascertain his imposture, strongly establish the contrary position. For how was the reality of his imperial descent invalidated by his being a forcerer, an heretic, or a musician, by his predilection to the Poles, not bowing to the image of St. Nicholas, not bathing, eating veal, and such frivolous accusations ‡. Does not the adoption of these nugatory insinua-

* Mr. Muller says, Vassili Shuiski took the trouble of repairing himself to the convent, Gab sich selbst die muhe.

† The Russian authors assert, that at the time when the relics were conveying to Moscow, she publicly retracted the former testimony which she had given in his favour, upon their first interview near Moscow; confessing, that she had been induced by threats, as well as from a desire of procuring her liberty, to acknowledge an alien for her son. But how are we certain that she really made this publick confession? Its truth entirely rests upon the Russian papers, which cannot be esteemed authentick records. But why was her publick recantation post-

poned to so late a period? and why was she not confronted with the tzar, when he so repeatedly appealed to her testimony as the strongest proof of his being the real Demetrius? Have we not every reason to conclude, either that she did not publicly retract her former asseverations in his favour; or that, being in Vassili Shuiski's power, she had been finally compelled to act in subserviency to his mandate?

‡ Many Russians, while they confessed that he was the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch, denied his right to the throne, because his mother being the seventh wife of that tzar, he was illegitimate. Margatet, p. 171.

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tions bespeak a great deficiency of satisfactory arguments? they may incline, indeed, the Russians to believe him an usurper, but do not prove him one in the eyes of dispassionate judges. The truth seems to be, that as he began to lose the affection of his subjects by his inconsiderate contempt of their customs and religion; these, and many other unfavourable reports, calculated to raise and encrease the popular odium, were circulated by the intrigues of Vassili Shuiski, who, upon his assassination, was raised to the throne.

The same remarks extend, with still greater force, to the assertion, that the body interred at Uglitz was that of the real Demetrius from its uncorrupted state, and the miracles it performed. For the uncorrupted state of that body, when it was first conveyed to Moscow, evidently prove it to have been supposititious; and the miracles it is said to have performed, will convert no proselytes without the pale of the Russian church. When every other expedient failed of convincing the generality of the Russians, that the late czar was an impostor, recourse was finally had to pretended miracles and sacred relics. And it must be allowed, that this method of convincing an ignorant and superstitious people who doubted (and there were many who doubted) was a stroke of the most consummate policy; as by these means the assertions of Vassili Shuiski were sanctified by an ecclesiastical decree; and the imposture of his rival became an article of publick faith. Indeed, such is the superstition with which the usurpation of Griska is still maintained, that even at this distance of time no Russian historian could venture to hint that Demetrius was not assassinated at Uglitz, and that the person who assumed his name was not Griska: for it would be contradicting a fundamental principle of belief,

and rejecting the relics of a saint much revered in this Country. CHAP.
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But it is time to finish this inquiry, which is already too long. I shall, therefore, conclude in a few words, that having endeavoured to examine the history of the tzar Demetrius without prejudice or partiality, I am strongly inclined to believe that he was not an impostor, but the real personage whose name he assumed*.

* For the history of Demetrius, see Petreius Moscov. Chron. Margaret's Estat de la Russie, p. 18 and 19.—111—175. Payern in Schmidt. Russ. Gef. vol. II. and particularly Muller's S. R. G. vol. V. p. 181 to 380. That ingenious author has drawn together, in one point of view, the principal events of this troublesome æra, and has re-

conciled, as much as possible, the contradictory accounts of the different writers: and though he has entirely adopted the Russian prejudices, yet he has given the arguments of the opposite party with as much candour as could be expected from an author who wrote in Russia.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the princess Sophia Alexiefna.—Her character misrepresented—and from what causes.—Her power and influence during the reign of Feodor Alexievitch.—Upon his demise excluded from all share in the administration of affairs.—Peter appointed tsar to the prejudice of his brother Ivan.—Proofs that he was not raised to the throne by the nomination of Feodor, and that his election was not unanimous.—Insurrection of the Strelitz.—Tumult and massacre.—Ivan and Peter declared joint sovereigns, and Sophia regent.—Probable causes of that revolution.—The conduct of Sophia justified from various aspersions.—Her fall and imprisonment.—Unjustly accused of attempting to assassinate Peter.—Rebellion of the Strelitz.—Defeated.—Fruitless attempts to convict Sophia of a correspondence with the rebels.—She assumes the veil.—Her death.

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THERE is scarcely any portion in the annals of this country more important than the minority of Peter the Great, and no character more grossly misrepresented than that of his sister Sophia Alexiefna, who governed Russia during that period. This illustrious princess united, in a very extraordinary degree, a variety of personal and mental accomplishments; but as she headed a party in opposition to Peter, the idolatry, which has been universally paid to his extensive genius, has greatly contributed towards diminishing the lustre of her administration.

I was

I was led into these reflections from a visit which I paid to the nunnery of Devitz, in the suburbs of Moscow, where Sophia was confined during the last seventeen years of her life; and as we have scarcely any knowledge of her character but through the medium of her adversaries, I shall throw together a few particulars, which induce me to see her conduct in a favourable light; and shall endeavour to rescue her name from that obloquy, which has so unjustly persecuted her memory*.

Sophia

* Three foreign writers have principally contributed to render the character of Sophia extremely odious.

1. The first of these writers is Gordon, in his *Life of Peter the Great*. But his testimony is in this instance extremely exceptionable, as well on account of his notorious partiality to Peter, as because he was particularly prejudiced against prince Vassili Galitzin, Sophia's prime minister, for having degraded his relation and patron general Patrick Gordon. See *Korb Diarium*, p. 216.

2. The second author is La Neuville, in his *Relation de la Moscovie*, who dignifies himself with the title of envoy from the king of Poland to the court of Moscow; and is generally supposed to have been resident in that city at the time of Sophia's fall. His authority, therefore, is deemed unquestionable; and the enemies of this princess have not failed to cite it in proof of their assertions. Any person, however, in the least conversant with the history of Russia, will perceive in this work the grossest contradictions, and the most absurd tales. The author, after loading the portrait of Sophia with more deceit and cruelty than ever disgraced a Tiberius, or a Cæsar Borgia, affects the most perfect knowledge of all the secret cabals between her and prince Galitzin: he declares their intention of marrying; of re-uniting the Greek and Latin churches; of compelling Peter to assume the monastick habit, or, if that failed, of assassinating him; of declaring the children

of Ivan illegitimate; and of securing the throne to themselves and their heirs. And as if this chimerical project had been thought sure of success, he adds, that prince Galitzin had still further views: he hoped, that by re-uniting Russia to the Roman catholic church, he should be able to obtain the pope's permission (if, as he flattered himself, he should survive Sophia) to appoint his own legitimate son his successor to the throne, in preference to those whom he should have by the princess, while his wife was alive. But such absurd accounts carry their own refutation, and the writer who retails them must surely deserve no degree of credit, even should he be "le témoin oculaire," as Voltaire styles him, "de ce qui se passa." But the truth is, that this envoy to Moscow is a supposititious person: the author was one Adrien Baillet, who styled himself de la Neuville, from a village of that name, in which he was born, and was never in Russia. The *Relation de la Moscovie* was published at the Hague in 1699; and was probably compiled by the author from the vague accounts of some of Peter's adherents, who accompanied that monarch into Holland in the year 1697. I shall have occasion to mention further proofs against the authenticity of this performance.

See Menkeni Bibliotheca, where *La Relation de la Moscovie* is mentioned among the works of Adrien Baillet. For an account of that author, see *Niceron Hommes Illustres*; article Ad. Baillet.

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Sophia was born in the month of October, 1658. Her father, Alexey Michaelovitch, the second sovereign of the house of Romanof, was twice married; first to Maria Il-nitchna of the family of Milolaffski; secondly, to Natalia Kirilofna, of that of Nariskin: by the former he had Feodor, Ivan, and several princesses, among whom was Sophia; by the latter, Peter the Great. During Maria's life, her family was distinguished by Alexey, and enjoyed a considerable influence; but after her decease, and upon his marriage with Natalia, their power was eclipsed by the superior ascendancy of the Nariskins, who succeeded to the confidence and favour of their sovereign. Hence two parties were formed in the court; and perpetual quarrels took place between the children of Alexey by his first wife, and their step-mother Natalia. During this period, Ivan Michaelovitch Milolaffski, the head of that family, endeavoured secretly to undermine the Nariskins: he attributed to their influence that the taxes were increased; that the pay was withheld from the soldiery; and, in a word, reproached them as the authors of all the grievances which were urged against the government of Alexey. By these and other artifices he laboured to render them unpopular; and having gained over to his party a

3. Voltaire has contributed more than any other writer to spread reports injurious to Sophia; but the truth of his narrative of her rise, administration, and fall, is liable to the strongest objections: he draws many facts, urged against Sophia, from the work of the supposed Polish envoy, La Neuville, which has been just shown to be of no authority; and extracts the remainder almost solely from certain memoirs, which being transmitted to him by order of the empress Elisabeth, Peter's daughter, would naturally throw the severest censures upon Sophia, and adopt all the misrepresentations of her adversaries.

But the violent prepossessions conceived

against the memory of this unfortunate princess begin to subside. Müller has ventured to justify her character in some instances; the author of the *Antidote to the Abbé de Chappé's Journey into Siberia*, speaks of her in a favourable manner; and L'Evesque has evidently shown, that her character has been grossly misrepresented; that she was a princess of great merit, and by no means deserving of the reproaches which have been cast upon her conduct. I had already finished this chapter, as well as the last, before his history made its appearance; and though the arguments of that judicious historian had no share in forming, they certainly confirmed my opinion in favour of Sophia.

large

large body of Strelitz *, waited for a favourable opportunity of executing his designs †. CHAP.
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Upon the accession of Feodor to the throne, his relations, the family of Milolafski, re-assumed their former importance, and the Nariskins were excluded from all share in the administration of affairs.

Sophia had gained the esteem and affection of her brother Feodor, by the superiority of her understanding, her insinuating address, and unwearied attention during the long illness which at length brought him prematurely to the grave. To her that weak prince, whose infirmities rendered him unfit to govern, resigned the absolute direction of affairs, and, at her suggestion, placed his sole confidence in prince Vassili Galitzin, a nobleman who had greatly distinguished himself, under the reign of Alexey Michaelovitch, for his political abilities.

Upon the demise of Feodor without issue, on the 27th of April, 1682, Ivan his brother, and rightful heir of the throne, was excluded from the succession on account of his incapacity, and his half-brother Peter was declared tzar. In regard to this event, the partizans of Peter endeavour to establish two positions : 1. That he was raised to this dignity in consequence of Feodor's express appointment ; and, 2. By the unanimous voice of the nation.

1. With respect to the first position, that Peter was nominated tzar in consequence of Feodor's ‡ express appointment, when we consider, that Feodor was entirely governed by Sophia and his own family, it is not probable, that he should

* The Russian regiments of guards were called Strelitz, or Strelets, until they were suppressed, and the name abolished, by Peter the Great.

† Sumorokof's *Aufbruch der Strelitzen*,

P. 44.

‡ Feodor avant d'expirer, voyant que son frère Ivan, trop disgracié de la nature, était incapable de regner, nomma pour héritier des Russes son second frère Pierre, &c. Voltaire.

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act in direct opposition to their interests, and ensure, by the nomination of Peter, the administration of affairs to the Nariskins; and this state of the case has been lately established by an historian * of unquestionable authority, who informs us, after the most authentic records, that Peter did not owe his elevation to any declaration of Feodor in his favour, but merely to the suffrages of those persons in whom the right of nominating the successor was vested.

2. In regard to the second position, the unanimity of Peter's election, Muller, who has explored the Russian archives with a view of ascertaining this point, can supply us with no better proofs than the following information †.

“ Soon after the death of Feodor, all the servants of the court, the officers, and ecclesiastics, who were then at Moscow, assembled in the palace and the court-yard to kiss the hand of the deceased monarch; after which ceremony they also kissed the hands of the two princes Ivan and Peter, the former of whom was sixteen, and the latter ten years of age. The ill health of Ivan, the hopeful appearance of Peter, and the well-known prudence and virtue of his mother ‡, induced all who were present to prefer the younger to the elder brother, and unanimously to raise Peter to the throne. The astonishing quiet and unanimity with which this important affair was accomplished, seems to prove, that it was preconcerted by the patriarch and principal nobility.

“ The patriarch Joachim, descended from a noble family, was at the head of this transaction. As soon as

* Prince Sherebatof. See Bach. Russ. Bib. vol. V. p. 608.

† Von Peter's des Grossen ersten Ge-
langung zum Thron. in Jour. Pet. for 1780.

‡ This princess was then scarcely 24

years of age, and had hitherto given no proofs of her prudence and wisdom.—
L'Eveque more justly styles her “jeune
“princesse qui n'avoit pu se faire encore
“ aucune reputation.”

“ the principal courtiers, ecclesiastics, nobles, officers, merchants, and a great concourse of people, were assembled before the imperial palace, he demanded of them, whom they would nominate tzar, Ivan or Peter? The question *was extremely unusual*, but, being justified by the circumstances, was immediately answered in favour of Peter. Probably the party of Ivan had not foreseen that a younger prince who, was a minor, would be preferred to his elder brother, *and were therefore not prepared to make any opposition to the appointment of Peter.*

“ Two contradictory accounts of this nomination are given in two of the most authentic records in the archives of Moscow. The first informs us that Ivan, as the eldest, publicly renounced his right to the crown, before it could be conferred upon Peter: the second makes no mention of this renunciation, but ascribes the nomination of Peter to the general wishes of the nation.”

The first record in the office for foreign affairs thus relates the transaction.

“ And the patriarch Joachim, and the metropolitans and archbishops, and all the clergy, and the Siberian and Kasimovian princes, and the Boiars and Okolnitshi, and the Doumnie-Diaki, and the Stolpnics and Straepshi, and the nobility of Moscow, and the Shilitfi, and the nobles from the country, and the soldiers and Gosti, and the merchants and people, entreated the princes, Ivan and Peter, that one of them would please to ascend the hereditary throne of Russia,” &c.

And the Tzarovitch Ivan said, “ It being advantageous for the publick that my brother the Tzarovitch and great-duke Peter should ascend the throne of Russia, *because his mother the tzarina Natalia is alive*: I, therefore, the tzarovitch

“ and

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“ and great-duke Ivan resign the throne to the tzarovitch
 “ and great-duke Peter. And the tzar and great-duke Peter
 “ ascended the throne,” &c.

According to the other record, which is in the Kofrad's
 Buch [or a Journal of Occurrences at Court,] “ the patriarch
 “ demands of the persons assembled for the nomination of
 “ the new sovereign, whom they would chuse tzar, Ivan or
 “ Peter.

“ And the Stolnics and Straeptshi, and the nobles, and the
 “ Diaki, and the Shilitfi, and the Dietiboiariki, and the Gosti,
 “ and the merchants, and the other people of different ranks,
 “ answered unanimously, that the throne of all the king-
 “ doms of the great Russian empire belonged to Peter Alex-
 “ ievitch : and then the patriarch addressed the Boiars,
 “ Okolnitchi, privy counsellors, and principal persons be-
 “ longing to the court ; and the Boiars, &c. answered una-
 “ nimously, The tzarovitch and great-duke Peter is, by
 “ the choice of all the states and people of the Moscovite
 “ empire, tzar and great-duke of all Great, Little, and
 “ White Russia,” &c. &c.

We may remark upon these extracts, that being evidently
 compiled by the friends of Peter, even if they did not con-
 tradict each other, their authority would be exceedingly ex-
 ceptionable ; nor could their silence, with respect to any
 opposition, be considered as a sufficient testimony that the
 suffrages in favour of Peter were unanimous, because his
 adherents would never record any particulars tending in the
 smallest degree to invalidate his pretensions, or to support
 those of Ivan. Besides, when we recollect the power of the
 family of Mololasski during the reign of Feodor, the influ-
 ence which prince Vassili Galitzin must have acquired from
 his

his office of prime-minister, and particularly the insinuating manners and popularity of Sophia, all of whom were bound, not only by the strongest ties of interest, but even for their common security, to support the cause of Ivan, we cannot, with any degree of probability, suppose that the nomination of Peter was as unanimous as it is represented. And indeed it is certain *, that a nobleman, named Sumbalof, absolutely objected to the invalidity of the election, because the younger brother was preferred to the elder; that his remonstancance was followed by those of many others, and that even the patriarch Joachim, who is esteemed by Mr. Muller a strong advocate of Peter, soon afterwards embraced the party of Ivan: these circumstances seem to imply that Peter was not raised to the throne by the unanimous voice of the nation, and that the suffrages of the assembly had been *surprized* by the secret machinations of the Nariskins.

Peter, however, by whatsoever means his nomination was obtained, received, as sole sovereign, the fealty of his subjects, and the government was entrusted to his mother Natalia. But this state of affairs was of no long duration: the party in opposition to Peter was strong and powerful; his election was not as yet confirmed by the whole body of Strelitz, who, to use the spirited expression of a Russian author, possessed above 14,000 armed votes †; and their peculiar situation at this important juncture rendered them fit instruments of a new revolution.

Just before Feodor's demise, and even while that monarch was at the point of death, nine of these regiments, quartered at Moscow, having tumultuously assembled, demanded redress of the ill-treatment they pretended to have received from their colonels, and an instant discharge of all their ar-

* Sumorokof, p. 55—57.

† 14198 bewaffnete stümme. Sumorokof, p. 19.

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"vitch is assassinated, and the Nariskins are masters of
"Russia. Revenge the murder of the tzarovitch." The soldiers, being inflamed to fury by these exclamations, marched instantaneously with drums beating and colours flying to the Kremlin, tolled the great bell, surrounded the palace, and demanded the traitors who had assassinated Ivan: although the tzarina immediately produced both Ivan and

* Gordon, p. 70.

† Ibid. p. 72; and Voltaire.

Peter, yet they were not appeased, but vehemently called aloud for the execution of the Nariskins, whose ambition and tyranny would entail ruin upon their country ; adding, that although Ivan had hitherto escaped their machinations, he was yet in danger of being assassinated at some future period ; and their fury was still further augmented by a rumour industriously circulated, that Ivan Nariskin, the brother of the tzarina, had seized the diadem and royal robes. In the midst of this tumult, one of the officers ventured to harangue the soldiers : he assured them, that Ivan Alexeivitch was in perfect safety ; that all their grievances should be redressed ; and exhorted them to disperse. This harangue seemed to make a sensible impression, and the tumult was subsiding ; when prince Dolgorucki imprudently threatened them with the severest punishment for their mutiny and rebellion : inflamed by this ill-timed menace, they seized the prince, hurled him into the air, received him upon their pikes, and hewed his body to pieces. This assassination was but the prelude to a more general massacre, which took place in the Kremlin, and in different parts of Moscow, and continued during three days without intermission. It would be needless, as well as shocking to humanity, to enter upon a detail of all the murders committed by this lawless rabble ; it is sufficient to observe, that not only the two brothers of the tzarina, and a few others most obnoxious to the insurgents, fell victims to their fury, but several persons, by no means unpopular, were sacrificed amidst the general confusion ; and as the soldiers were roused almost to madness by intoxication, the houses of many citizens were plundered, and the city underwent a general pillage.

In order to close this horrid scene, the principal nobles assembled on the 18th of May, and, by a compromise be-

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tween the two parties, Ivan and Peter were declared joint sovereigns; but as Ivan was judged incapable of governing, and Peter was in his minority, the administration of affairs was vested in the hands of Sophia. Hence conclusions have been drawn unfavourable to that princess: she is accused of having for some time maintained a secret intelligence with the ringleaders of the Strelitz, of exciting them by false reports to revolt; of ordering money and spirituous liquors to be distributed among the soldiers, and even of delivering to them a list* of forty nobles whom she had proscribed. All her actions are malignantly interpreted: when Ivan Nariskin was led to execution, she publicly accompanied the tzarina and the patriarch to intercede for his life, placed the image of the Virgin Mary in his hands to stop the fury of the Strelitz, and endeavoured, though in vain, to sooth his assassins†. They who judge unfavourably of her conduct, say, that this compassion was only feigned, and that she secretly encouraged his assassination, though she outwardly affected to intercede for him‡.

Upon this supposition the whole conduct of Sophia implies such a deep-laid scheme of hypocrisy, artifice, and revenge, as seems rather adapted to a politician grown grey in iniquity, and long practised in the arts of sedition, than to a princess like Sophia, only in the 25th year of her age.

Upon reviewing the causes which led to this revolution, they may be traced from several events in the reign of Alexey

* "Enfin Sophie," says Voltaire, "fait remettre entre leurs mains une liste de quarante seigneurs qu'elle appelle leurs ennemis, et ceux de l'Etat et qu'ils doivent massacrer." I cannot give credit to this list of forty nobles, which Voltaire resembles "aux proscriptions de Sylla et des triumvirs de Rome." Whoever will at-

tentively peruse the account of the ensuing massacre in Gordon, or even in Voltaire, will find that the fury of the Strelitz, except against the Nariskins, was more directed by chance than by design.

† Gordon, p. 81.

‡ Sumorokof.

Michaelovitch, long before Sophia had the least influence in political affairs, and particularly from the domestick feuds in the imperial family : it appears also that the first insurrection of the Strelitz was casual ; that it was occasioned by the arrears of pay, and the unpopularity of the colonels, and cannot, with the least degree of probability, be imputed to the intrigues of Sophia ; and that therefore she can only be accused, even by the most malignant interpretation of her conduct, of availing herself of that mutiny to procure the election of Ivan. But there is surely a wide difference between asserting the injustice of his exclusion from the throne, or, under the mask of moderation and candour, inflaming to madness the fury of a disaffected soldiery, and calmly leading them from assassination to assassination *. And if any unjustifiable cabals were really employed on this occasion ; why should the whole blame be laid upon Sophia ? and why are her faults alone handed down to us with so many heavy aggravations ?

But is it not more reasonable to suppose that Ivan Miloslavski, who, as we have before observed, had formed a strong party against the Nariskins, even during the reign of Alexey Michaelovitch, should, in conjunction with his family, take advantage of this sedition of the Strelitz, with whom he had long entertained a secret intelligence, and that Sophia was but the ostensible instrument of their designs ? In a word, that she was raised to the regency by the cabals of a powerful party, who foresaw their own ruin and the advancement of their rivals in the nomination of Peter ; and who held forth the unalienable rights of Ivan to this licentious body in the midst of an insurrection. Examples were not wanting

* Tandis que les Strelitz commençaient ainsi à se faire craindre, la princesse Sophie, qui les animait sous main, pour les conduire de crime en crime, &c. Voltaire.

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to prove that the incapacity of Ivan was no bar to his election: a memorable instance was exhibited in the person of Feodor Ivanovitch, who, notwithstanding his absolute imbecility, was raised to the throne, and a regency entrusted with the administration of affairs*: and it must also be considered, that Peter, then only in his eleventh year, had not afforded any instances of that vast superiority of understanding, which afterwards marked his character; and that his mother, who was to sway the reins of empire, was a person of no experience, and extremely unpopular. Nor is it matter of surprize that the care of Ivan and the government should be committed to Sophia. The victorious family would naturally choose a regent devoted from interests and inclination to their party, a person of imperial lineage, popular manners, respectable character, and great abilities; and all these requisites centered in Sophia.

However authors may have censured the ambitious designs of Sophia, they unanimously concur in delineating her engaging manners, the beauties of her person †, the vigour

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 19.

† Weber, the Hanoverian envoy at St. Petersburg in the beginning of this century, says of Sophia, "The tzar was frequently heard to declare, that, excepting her inordinate ambition, she was a princess of great personal and mental accomplishments." Ver. Russ. Vol. I. p. 143.

Voltaire, in a very spirited portrait, closes it by saying, "une figure agréable relevoit tous ses talens." Perry describes her, at the time of the revolution, as a handsome young lady, then upwards of 23. He came into Russia in 1702, two years before her death; and though he never saw her himself, on account of her imprisonment, he must have known many persons who had been personally acquainted with her. Perry's State of Russia, p. 143.

Sumorokof says of her, that she possessed

a good understanding and great beauty.

"Sie besaß großen verstand und grosse schoenheit," p. 10.

Many other authors might be quoted to the same purpose, but as there is nothing which party-malice will not invent to depreciate an obnoxious character, the supposititious Polish envoy La Neuville has misrepresented her person as much as her conduct; in the following extraordinary passage: "Sophie dont l'esprit & le merite ne tiennent rien de la difformité de son corps, étant d'une grosseur monstrueuse, avec une tête large comme un boisseau, du poil au visage, des loups aux jambes & au moins 40 ans; mais autant que sa taille est large, courte, & grossière autant son esprit est fin, délié & politique & sans avoir jamais lu Machiavel, elle possède naturellement toutes les maximes," &c. p. 152.

and wisdom of her administration, and her extensive plans of reformation for the advantage of her country. CHAP.
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Sophia reposed her principal confidence in prince Vassili Galitzin, commonly known by the name of the Great Galitzin, a most able minister, and consummate politician. The scandalous chronicle of those times, or rather of a later period, attributed her partiality for this minister to a softer passion, though he was above sixty years of age; and her enemies have not even scrupled to declare * that she had formed the plan of assassinating the two tzars, usurping the throne, and of espousing prince Galitzin, who was to obtain a divorce from his wife; but this calumny, as it is not founded on the least substantial evidence, deserves not to be refuted.

Sophia † has been also accused, not only of neglecting the education of Peter, but of introducing him into the company of the most profligate young men, and of encouraging his propensity to every species of excess which might enervate his frame, weaken his understanding, and render him averse to business. This calumny, however, has been amply refuted by Mr. Muller ‡, who has shewn from unquestionable authority, that Ivan and Peter had two different courts; that the education of the latter was solely entrusted to his mother; and that if improper persons were placed about him, the blame must fall upon her, and not upon Sophia. With respect to his propensity to drinking, that vice was extremely common, in Russia, and prince Vassili § Galitzin alone was as remarkable for his sobriety as the favourites of Peter, LeFort,

* Gordon, p. 86.

† Voltaire.

‡ Journal of St. Pet. Mar. 1778, p. 163, 169.

§ "Galitzin was the only man of quality in Russia who could entertain, without

"forcing his company to drink to excess..

"Brandy, the liquor which flowed at every

"other table, was seldom seen at his, who

"never drank any himself, but took much

"delight in rational and ingenious conver-

"sation." Mottley's Life of Peter.

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and Boris Galitzin, were notorious for their intemperance.

“Le Fort,” says a writer, who was in Livonia when the czar and his suite passed through that country in his first journey to Holland, “is a man of a good understanding; very personable, engaging, and entertaining; a true Swiss for probity and bravery, but *chiefly for drinking*. Open tables are kept every where with trumpets and musick, attended with feasting and excessive drinking, as if his tzarish majesty had been another Bacchus. I have not yet seen such hard drinkers; it is not possible to express it, and they boast of it as a mighty qualification*.”

Thus then it appears that Peter had examples of intemperance in his own household, and it will hardly be supposed that Le Fort was the creature of Sophia. The evident falsehood of such virulent accusations should induce us not to give credit to other calumnies, and particularly to the charge that she attempted to destroy Peter by poison, which, though it failed of its intended effect, disordered his constitution, and occasionally produced a species of melancholy and despair that bordered upon madness. This report took its rise from his proneness to epileptic fits, a disorder common in his family, to which he was subject from his infancy, which gradually diminished as he grew stronger, but never entirely forsook him. Previous to an attack, the natural vehemence and savageness of his temper broke out with redoubled violence, and rendered him the terror of all who approached him. The rancour with which the enemies of Sophia have calumniated her memory, is from no instance more evident than from this absurd imputation; that the brutal ferocity

* Account of Livonia, p. 293.

and sanguinary disposition of Peter was owing to the effects of poison administered by her *. CHAP. VIII.

But it is time to trace the principal causes which contributed to the fall and imprisonment of Sophia. That prince, to whom Ivan had surrendered the absolute direction of affairs, assumed some exterior marks of homage, which seem to have been hitherto appropriated only to the sovereigns of Russia. While the heads of her two brothers were impressed on one side of the coins, her image, arrayed with the crown, sceptre, and imperial robes, was stamped upon the reverse; in all the public acts her name was added to the signature of the two tzars †, and she appeared in processions decorated with all the ensigns of royalty ‡: circumstances which naturally gave umbrage to the rival family, and afforded a specious pretence for inveighing against her ambitious designs.

Peter, as he advanced in years and felt himself born for empire, could not, without great dissatisfaction behold all

* " Il prenoit quelquefois des accès d'humeur chagrine, ou il semblait frappé de l'idée noire qu'on voulait attenter à sa personne, et ou ses amis les plus familiers craignaient les empoisonemens. Ces accès ÉTAIENT UN RESTE FATAL DU POISON, QU'IL RECUT DE SON AMBITIEUSE SŒUR SOPHIE. On en connaissait l'approche à certains mouvemens convulsifs de sa bouche. L'Impératrice était avertie. Elle venait lui parler; le son de cette voix le calmait à l'instant. Elle le faisait asseoir, et s'emparait en le cajoiant de sa tête, qu'elle grattait doucement. C'était comme un charme, qui l'assoupissait en peu de minutes. Pour ne pas troubler son sommeil, elle soutenait sa tête sur son sein, sans se remuer pendant deux ou trois heures. Alors il se reveillait, entièrement rassuré et remis au lieu qu'avant qu'elle eût étudié cette manière si simple de le soulager, ces accès étaient la terreur de ceux qui l'appro-

chaient, aiant causé dit on quelques malheurs, et étant suivi de maux de tête affreux, qui duraient des journées entières." Basilevitz in Bus. II. M. IX. p. 294.

Strange effects of poison given in his infancy. Those who have been used to see persons in epileptic fits, will easily discover all the effects of that disorder from the words in Italics. Bishop Burnet says, "that he was subject to convulsive motions all over his body, and that his head seemed to be affected with these."

† She did not sign her name in the public decrees until 1687. Bus. Hist. Mag. V. I. p. 9.

‡ These circumstances cannot imply a design of usurping the sovereign authority; for she was only accused even by her enemies of secretly conspiring against Peter, and not of an open attempt to seize the crown.

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the power lodged in the hands of a rival party; still further encouraged by his mother and her adherents, he claimed a share in the administration of affairs; and took his seat, for the first time, in the privy council, on the 25th of January, 1688, and in the eighteenth year of his age. Sophia, though unwilling to resign any part of her authority, could not withhold her consent; but as Peter's spirit was above controul, she availed herself of some violent altercations which passed between them, and contrived to exclude him, for the future, from a seat in the council. From this period the dissensions between them arose to so great an height, as to threaten an open rupture; and the fall of one seemed necessary to the security of the other*.

Things remained in this state of jealousy and variance, until the month of September, 1689; when the aspiring genius of Peter acquired the ascendancy, and secured his undivided authority by the fall and imprisonment of Sophia. By the advice of Boris Galitzin and the Nariskins, Peter resolved to arrest his sister, and to seize the reins of government; and it is asserted by his adherents†, that Sophia and prince Vassili Galitzin, apprized of his intentions, determined to prevent their own ruin by his assassination; that they had gained over the chief of the Strelitz and a corps of 600 men, and had actually commissioned them to perpetrate that infamous deed.

Peter had retired to sleep at his palace of Preobashenski near Moscow, when two‡ of the conspirators, it is said, struck with horror at their crime, quitted their companions, and hastened to the young czar with the information that a body

* Jodra. of St. Pet. for 1778, p. 175, 176.

† Gordon.

‡ It is remarkable, that this same story

of two conspirators who were engaged to assassinate Peter, but, repenting, discovered the plot, is again related as happening in 1697. Schmidt. Russ. Gef. V. II. p. 9.

of Strelitz were upon their march to assassinate him. The same accounts add, that Peter refused to give credit to their report, until it was confirmed by Boris Galitzin and one of his uncles, whom he immediately dispatched to reconnoitre; and that the conspirators were already so near, that he had scarcely time to make his escape*. He instantly proceeded to the convent of the Holy Trinity; where his danger being spread abroad, troops flocked to him from all quarters, and in such numbers, that in the space of three days he had an army of 60,000 men under his command, and found himself in a situation to give law to the opposite party.

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In the mean time Sophia, in a state of the utmost consternation, denied all intercourse with the conspirators, expressed the utmost horror at their attempt; dispatched repeated messages to her brother to justify her conduct; and even set off in person to assert her innocence; but was ordered to return without delay to Moscow, and to deliver the ring-leaders of the mutiny. Soon afterwards Peter himself repaired to the capital: the principal conspirators, being tortured in his presence, confessed a design against his life, and suffered the severest punishment. Vassili Galitzin † was banished into Siberia; and Sophia was imprisoned for life in the nunnery of Devitz: Peter alone assumed the reins of government, and found sufficient scope for his vast and enterprising genius; while the name of Ivan was still inserted,

* Voltaire, though convinced of Sophia's intention to assassinate Peter, and notwithstanding the intelligence he received from the court of Petersburg, can only give us the following scanty information: "La Neuville résident alors à Moscou, et témoin oculaire de ce qui se passa, prétend que Sophie et Galitzin engageront le nouveau chef des Strelitz à leur sacrifier leur jeune czar: il paraît au moins que six-cent de

" ces Strelitz devaient s'emparer de sa personne. Les mémoires secrètes que la cour de Russie m'a confiés, assurent que la parti étoit pris de tuer Pierre Premier: le coup allait être porté, et la Russie étoit privè à jamais de la nouvelle existence, qu'elle," &c.

† This able minister survived his fall 24 years; he died in prison at Poodzorsk in 1713. L'Esclavage, vol. IV. p. 107.

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as a matter of formality, in the public acts until his death, which happened in 1696.

Such are the principal circumstances of this extraordinary revolution; but we must consider, that this is the account given by the victorious party; and that the cause of Sophia never underwent a candid examination. It may be impossible to exculpate that princess entirely from ambitious views; she might be extremely unwilling to relinquish a power which she had long enjoyed, and which she exercised with great ability; she might esteem the right of Ivan to the throne as superior to that of Peter; and might consider Peter's acquisition of the sole sovereignty as the certain prelude to her own destruction: but we have no positive evidence* which should induce us to believe that she conspired against her brother's life; and perhaps the whole story of the intended assassination was feigned by Boris Galitzin† and her enemies. Had she been really guilty of that attempt, she wanted not opportunities of escaping from Russia; and she never would have imprudently demanded admittance into Peter's presence, in order to assert her innocence, if the proofs of her guilt had been as strong as her adversaries pretended‡. In

* We have no certain proofs that any of the conspirators accused Sophia of being privy to any design upon Peter's life; and, even if they did name her as an accomplice, their evidence, as it was extorted by the rack, is by no means to be depended upon.

† It appears from the following passage that the discovery of Sophia's designs came from that quarter. "Prince Boris Galitzin, a faithful subject of the czar Peter, coming timely to penetrate into his kinsman prince Basil's designs, put the czar upon his guard, advising him, without delay, to take the government into his hands." Gordon, V. I. p. 89.

‡ "Avait elle," as L'Evesque judiciously remarks, "comme on l'en accuse, formé le dessein d'ôter la vie à Pierre? voulait-elle seulement l'enlever, et le faire déposer? Fut-elle même complice de l'entreprise de Sichéglovitsoi? c'est ce que nous ne sçavons prononcer." Il faudroit avoir des pieces authentiques pour juger ce grand procès. Les historiens l'accusent; aucun ne dit qu'elle ait été nommée par les coupables. Pierre devint la craindre, il savoit qu'elle étoit aimée des Stréliis et de leur chefs: Elle tenoit les rênes du gouvernement; elle ne vouloit pas les lâcher, et il vouloit s'en saisir.

a word, the conflict between Peter and Sophia was the conflict of two rivals impatient of controul, and striving for pre-eminence; the cause of the successful party would necessarily be deemed just and equitable; and the vanquished faction was sure to be loaded with every species of guilt and enormity.

The restless spirit of Sophia, brooding in the solitude of a convent, is said to have excited fresh troubles and insurrections; and, during her life, no conspiracy was undertaken against Peter, in which she was not suspected of being concerned. She was more particularly accused of being privy to the rebellion which broke out in 1697; when 8000 Strelitz seized the opportunity of Peter's absence upon his travels to rise in arms upon the frontiers of Lithuania, and to march towards Moscow. The rebels were attacked and defeated by the address and courage of general Patrick Gordon; many were put to the sword, and the remainder surrendered at discretion. The tzar received at Vienna the account of the mutiny and defeat of the Strelitz, and instantly hastened to Russia, that he might examine the delinquents in person.

Peter, upon his arrival at Moscow, was particularly anxious to discover the causes of the rebellion, to learn by whose intrigues it was excited; and, above all, to convict Sophia, whom he charged with fomenting the publick discontents, and with holding a correspondence with the rebels. But as no persons could give immediate and pertinent answers to all his questions, he entertained suspicions of all his courtiers,

“ saisir : elle étoit détestée de Natalie, &
 “ de tous les parents de cette Princesse :
 “ On l'accusait d'intrigues : elle en formait
 “ sans doute, et sans cesse il s'en formait

“ contre elle : elle en fut la victime, & la
 “ Calomnie devoit la poursuivre lo g-t ms
 “ encore après sa disgrâce, & même aud-la
 “ du tombeau.” Vol. IV. p. 153.

and

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and determined to erect a court of inquiry at his palace of Preobraszhenski, where the instruments of the question were brought. The czar himself examined the accused, urged them to confession, and ordered those who maintained silence to be racked in his presence. The cruelty of the tortures employed on this occasion was inexpressibly dreadful: human nature shudders at the recital, but it is necessary to mention them in a justification of Sophia. Some of the rebels were repeatedly whipped; others had their shoulders dislocated by a cord and pulley, and in that painful posture received the strokes of the knout; many after undergoing the knout were roasted over a slow fire, the raw parts being exposed to the flame *. Physicians were present to ascertain the degree of pain the unhappy convicts were capable of supporting, and to recover those who had fainted away, that the application of fresh tortures might recommence upon the renewal of their strength. This dreadful inquisition was continued, without the least intermission, through the whole month of October. Not only every species of punishment, the most refined which human cruelty could devise, was inflicted in order to extort an accusation of Sophia, but promises of pardon, and even of great promotion, were offered for the same purpose to the wretched sufferers even in the midst of the most excruciating agonies †.

At

* It appears from Olearius, and other travellers into Russia, that these tortures were ordinarily used in that country for the purpose of forcing confession.

† This account is extracted from the Diary of Korb, secretary of the Austrian embassy to Russia in the year 1697, and who was present at Moscow during these horrid proceedings. He received information of these dreadful tortures from several German officers in the service of Peter, who were eye-

witnesses to their infliction upon the Strelitz. Korb's authority is also the more to be depended upon in this instance, because he speaks highly in favour of Peter, and condemns the ambition of Sophia. Gordon also, though so partial to Peter, informs us, that the rebels were tortured and examined in his presence. Vol. I. p. 129.

"Piima, says Korb, in the 164th page of his Diary, "post adventum sollicitudo de "rebellione fuit; quomodo composita?
"quid

At length a few of the Strelitz, overcome by the severity of the torments, or seduced by hopes of pardon and the promise of promotion, confessed, that it was their intention to set fire to the suburbs of Moscow, to massacre all foreigners, to banish or assassinate the principal nobility, to raise the tzarovitch Alexey to the throne, and to appoint Sophia regent during his minority; while others declared that the ringleaders had actually drawn up a petition, which they intended to present to that princess, praying her to accept the administration of affairs.

Although none of the rebels charged Sophia with being accessory to their insurrection, yet Peter was so prejudiced against her, that he put to the torture one of her female attendants; and when no evidence of her guilt could be pro-

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"quid animi tumultuantibus fuisset? quibus authoribus tantum nefas audi? cum autem nemo esset, qui ad omnia puncta accuratè respondere posset, his suam ignorantiā, illis Streliziorum pertinaciam obtendentibus, omnium fidem suspectam habere & novæ inquisitioni cogitationes suas admovere cœpit. Qui in vicinis variis locis custoditi asservabantur rebelles, ii omnes per quatuor militum pretorianorum regimina ad quæstionem novam, & torturam retraherentur. Bebraschentsko reductus carcer, tribunal fuit, & equuleus. Nulla dies quæstionibus vacua fassa aut nefasta, omnes ad torquendum idonei litirique visi. Quot rei, tot knuttæ, quot quæstiores, tot carnifices. Princeps Feodor Jurowicz Romadonowski, quantum cæteris severior, tantum præstabat inquitrendi aptitudine. Ipsemet Magnus Dux ob concepam in suos dissidentiam, inquisitoris officio functus est. Ipse interrogatoria ponebat, examinabat reos, non contentes urgebat, pertinacioris etiam silentii Strelizios crudeli jubebat subijci torturæ, jam multa fassi, de pluribus quærebantur, quos tormentorum excessus viribus, mente, et ipsi vix non

"sensibus destituit, medicorum industria pristinis suis viribus per novos cruciatus denno enervandis cogeatur restituere. Torus mensis October reorum tergoribus per knuttas & ignes excarnificandis infusebatur: nulla die à flagris, aut flammis fuere immunes, quàm quæ vel rotæ fractos, ad furcam actos, vel securi interemptos vita ipsa reliquerat."

And again, "Inaudita fuit adhibitæ torture inhumanitas: flagris savissimè cæsi, si pertinaciam silentii nondum rumpent, saucia reorum tergora sanie, & tabo fluctantia igni admovebantur, ut per lentam cutis & carnis morbosæ aditionem acuti dolores, ad ima ossium, & extrema sensuum cum atrocissimis cruciatibus descenderent. Hæc tormentorum vicissitudo unâ & alterâ vice repetebatur. Horrenda visu, & audita tragedia. Ultra triginta in aperti campi planitie funestissimi collucebant ignes, ubi mirerrimè inquisiti cum ejulatu terribili torrebantur; parte ex alia resonabant crudelissimi flagrorum icus, ut ex jucundissimâ terræ vicinâ visissima hominum carnificina facta sit." *Diarium Itineris in Moscoviam, &c. p. 102.*

cured

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cured by that horrid expedient, he even repaired to the nunnery of Devitz, and examined her in person. The princess, whose high spirit was subdued by her misfortunes*, and worn out by a long confinement, could not refrain from weeping at the sight of her obdurate brother, and she even extorted tears from Peter himself, though without melting his resentment †. But neither this, nor every other effort that was employed to convict her, was attended with success; and the only proof of her carrying on a secret correspondence with the rebels was derived from the confession of a boy belonging to an officer of the Strelitz, who declared, that letters enclosed in loaves of bread had passed between Sophia and his master ‡. The latter, however, peremptorily denied the fact even upon the rack; and he was led to execution persisting to the last moment in this asseveration.

The case seems to be, that the innovations of Peter created a large number of malcontents; that the introduction of the European discipline, and the partiality which he showed to the foreign regiments, inflamed the disaffection of the Strelitz to such a degree as to account for their rebellion, without the supposition of any cabals on the part of Sophia; that this princess had long been the object of affection to all the enemies of Peter, and was naturally the person to whom they would have consigned the administration of affairs, if the revolt had been attended with success.

Peter was so greatly exasperated against Sophia, that he had once determined to put her to death; but, having

* "Quorundam pertinaciâ demum victa." Korb.

† "Ad monasterium Neo-virginitatis discessit tzarus, ut sororem suam Sophiam, dicto monasterio inclusam excoqueret;

"publice enim nuperi tumultus vulgò rea habebatur: primus utriusque introitus uberrimas ambarum lacrymas excivisse dicitur." Korb.

‡ Gordon, vol. I. p. 129—130.

changed

changed his resolution, he compelled her to assume the veil. In order to strike her with terror, and to announce to the publick that he thought her privy to the rebellion, two hundred and thirty Strelitz were hanged within sight of the nunnery in which she was confined; and three of the ring-leaders were suspended upon a gibbet erected close * to the window of her apartment: they held in their hands petitions similar to that which, according to the confession just mentioned, was to have been presented to Sophia. CHAP.
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From this period history is silent in relation to Sophia: she was confined under a strict guard in the monastery until her death, which happened in the month of July, 1704.

She was interred in the church of the convent; the tomb is covered with a black cloth, and contains the following inscription: "A. M. 7212 (or 1704 of the Christian æra) on the third of July † died Sophia Alexiefna, aged 46 years, nine months and six days: her monastick name was Stifanna. She had been a nun five years, eight months and twelve days: she was buried the 4th in this church, called the Image of Smolensko. She was daughter of Alexey Michaelovitch, and of Maria Ilinitchna," &c.

Although Peter always suspected the intrigues of his sister, yet he never failed paying a just tribute to her genius and abilities. "What a pity," he was frequently heard to say, "that she persecuted me in my minority, and that I cannot repose any confidence in her: otherwise, when I am employed abroad, she might govern at home ‡."

One

* Gordon, p. 95—130.

Korb, who saw them hanging, says, "Tam prope ad ipsas Sophiani cubiculi fenestras, ut Sophia eodem manu facile posset attingere."

On this occasion above 2000 Strelitz suffered capital punishment. Peter broke at the same time the whole body of Strelitz, and abolished their name.

† O. S. the 14th, N. S.

‡ This anecdote, which I received from a Russian nobleman of great distinction, is confirmed.

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One striking feature in Sophia's character, which I had no opportunity of mentioning, while my inquiry was chiefly confined to her political conduct, must not be omitted in this place. She deserves the veneration of posterity for the patronage which she afforded to persons of genius and learning, and for encouraging, by her own example, the introduction of polite literature into Russia, then plunged in the deepest ignorance. At a period, when there was no national theatre, and when the lowest buffooneries, under the name of *moralities*, were the sole dramattick representations even at court; this elegant princess translated the *Medecin malgré lui* of Moliere into her native tongue, and performed one of the characters herself. She also composed a tragedy, probably the first extant in the Russian language; and she composed it at a time, when the most violent cabals were excited against her ministry, and when the most weighty affairs seemed to engross her sole attention.

confirmed by the following passage in Perry's State of Russia. "I remember, that
"upon a certain occasion, when mention
"was made of her [i. e. Sophia], the czar
"himself gave her this character, that she

"was a princess endowed with all the ac-
"complishments of body and mind to per-
"fection, had it not been for her boundless
"ambition and insatiable desire of govern-
"ing." Vol. I. p. 138.

T R A V E L S

I N T O

R U S S I A.

B O O K IV.

C H A P. I.

Departure from Moscow.—Arrival at Tver.—History and description of that town.—Productions of the neighbouring country.—Quadrupeds.—Birds.—Fish.—Description of the Sterlet.—Continuation of the journey.—Torfhok.—Vishnèi-Voloshok.—Valdai hills and lake.—Bronitza.—Wooden road, how formed.—Further account of the peasants.—Their cottages, manners and customs.—Of the Yamshics, who furnish post horses.—Singing extremely common among the Russians.—On the subjects of their songs, &c. &c.

WE quitted Moscow on the 14th of September, and traversed a gently rising country, some part of it open, and the rest overspread with forests. We passed the night

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at the small village of Parfki, as usual, in a peasant's cottage, and changed horses the next morning at Klin, situated upon the Seftra, a broad rivulet; this village had been lately burnt, and the peasants were engaged in rebuilding their huts: near it we observed a saw-pit, which, in this country, was too curious an object not to attract our notice. Beyond Savidof we crossed a small river, and soon afterwards reached the banks of the Volga, which we coasted to Gorodna. The next morning the springs of our carriage being ready to start, and one of the wheels being in a crazy state, we sent it on slowly, under the care of our servants, and hired for ourselves the carts of the country, called *kibitkis*, which we filled with hay, and arrived, after a considerable degree of jolting, at Tver, which is magnificently situated upon the elevated banks of the Volga.

Tver * owes its origin to Vlodimir Georgivitch great-duke of Volodimir, who in 1182 raised a small fortress upon the point where the Tvertza falls into the Volga, in order to protect his territories against the incursions of the inhabitants of Novogorod. Afterwards, in 1240, the great duke Yaroslav II. built another citadel upon the spot now occupied by the present fortress, and laid the foundation of a new town, which soon increased in population and wealth to so great a degree, as to become the metropolis of an independent sovereignty, called from the town the duchy of Tver. Yaroslav III. son of Yaroslav II. and brother of Alexander Nevski, received this duchy as his inheritance, and transmitted the succession to a long train of descendants.

The last sovereign of this hereditary line was Michael Borisovitch, whose sister Maria was married to the great-duke

* See Hist. Geog. Beschreibung der Stadt Twer, &c. Journ. Pet. for November, 1780.

Ivan Vassilievitch I. The harmony which had for some CHAP.
1. time subsisted between these two neighbouring princes was at first strengthened by this alliance ; but in the course of a few years, either mutual jealousies, or the ambitious views of Ivan, produced an open rupture ; and in 1486 the latter besieged Tver with a large army. Michael, unable to resist so formidable an antagonist, abandoned the town, and fled into Lithuania, where he died in extreme indigence. Upon his retreat the inhabitants surrendered Tver to Ivan Vassilievitch, who bestowed it and the duchy as a fief upon his eldest son Ivan ; that prince dying in 1490, the great-duke annexed the duchy to his other dominions in the form of a province, and it has never been again dismembered.

Tver is divided into the old and new town : the former, situated on the opposite side of the Volga, consists almost entirely of wooden cottages ; the latter, about fifteen years ago, was, a few buildings excepted, scarcely superior ; but being, in 1763, fortunately destroyed by a dreadful conflagration, it has risen with lustre from its ashes. The empress was no sooner informed of this calamity, than she ordered a regular and beautiful plan of a new town to be sketched by an eminent architect, and enjoined, that all the houses should be re-constructed in conformity to this model. She raised, at her own expence, the governor's house, the bishop's palace, the courts of justice, the new-exchange, the prison, and several other publick edifices ; and offered to every person who would engage to build an house with brick, a loan of £300. for twelve years without interest. The money advanced by her majesty upon this occasion amounted to £60,000 ; and she has since remitted one third of this sum. The streets, which are broad and long, issue in a straight line from a square, or rather an octagon,
in

BOOK IV. in the center : the houses of this octagon and of the principal streets are of brick stuccoed white, and form a very magnificent appearance. Part only of the new town, when we passed through it, was finished ; when it is completed, it will consist of two octagons, with several streets leading to them, and intersecting each other at right angles, and would be no inconsiderable ornament to the most opulent and civilized country.

There is an ecclesiastical seminary at Tver, which is under the inspection of the bishop, and admits 600 students. In 1776 the empress instituted a school for the instruction of 200 burghers' children : they are taught to read, write, and cast accounts, and a few of them are trained to handicraft trades. In June, 1779, an academy was also opened in this town, for the education of the young nobility of the province, at the charge of the same imperial patroness. It admits 120 students ; who are instructed in foreign languages, arithmetick, geography, fortification, tactics, natural philosophy, musick, riding, dancing *, &c.

Tver is a place of considerable commerce ; and both the Volga and the Tvertza were covered with boats. It owes its principal trade to its advantageous situation, being near the conflux of those two rivers, along which are conveyed all the goods and merchandize sent by water from Siberia and the southern provinces towards Peterburgh.

The Volga, the largest river in Europe, rises in the forest of Volkontki, about the distance of eighty miles from Tver, and begins to be navigable a few miles above the town. It is there about the breadth of the Thames at Henley, but

* Ibid.

exceedingly shallow ; it is, however, considerably increased CHAP.
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by the junction of the Tverza, which is broader, deeper, and more rapid. By means of the Tverza, a communication is made between the Volga and the Neva, or, in other words, between the Caspian and the Baltic, as will be explained in a future chapter. The number of barges which passed by the town in 1776 amounted to 2537 ; in 1777 to 2641 ; and the average number is generally computed at about 2550. The boats are flat-bottomed on account of the frequent shoals in the Volga, and other rivers which compose this long inland navigation. They are constructed with new planks, which shrink and leave wide intervals, that are sometimes filled up with thin slips of wood cramped with iron, and not unfrequently stopped with tow. The rudders of these vessels have a very singular appearance : the handle is a tree of about 50 feet long ; at the further end whereof is a pole which descends perpendicularly to the water, where it is fixed to a broad piece of timber, which floats upon the surface. The pilot stands upon a kind of scaffold at the distance of about 30 or 40 feet from the stern, and turns the rudder by means of its long handle. These boats are only built for one voyage ; for, upon their arrival at Peterburgh, they are taken to pieces and sold for fuel.

I have already had occasion to mention the prodigious waste of wood arising from the prevailing custom of forming planks with the axe. This practice, extremely detrimental to the forests of the empire, was no less usual among the shipwrights than among the peasants ; and the former, either from ignorance, or prejudice, could only be reconciled to the use of the saw by the following expedient. Orders were issued from government, that each vessel, passing by Tver, in which there was one plank fashioned with

BOOK IV. the hatchet, should pay a fine of £6. In consequence of this decree the officer, who was sent to levy the fine, collected the first year £6000; the second £1500; the third £100; and the fourth nothing. By this judicious regulation the use of the saw has been introduced among the Russian shipwrights, and will probably in time recommend itself to the carpenters and peasants.

The rising spirit of commerce has added greatly within these few years to the wealth and population of the town. It contains at present at least 10,000 souls; and the number of inhabitants in the government of Tver has increased in a very surprising degree; a circumstance which shews the advantages arising from her present majesty's new code of laws. Tver was the first province of this empire which was newly modelled according to that code; and it has already experienced the beneficial effects of these excellent regulations.

Tver being a large town, we concluded that we should find no difficulty in obtaining the necessary repairs for our carriage, so as to enable it to carry us two or three days at least without requiring any further assistance. Trusting, therefore, to the workmanship of a Russian smith, we sat off about six in the evening with the expectation of reaching the next post, where we purposed to pass the night, in about four hours; but we had scarcely proceeded ten miles, before we perceived that the wheel, instead of being strengthened, had been weakened by the smith's unskilfulness, and seemed every instant in danger of coming to pieces. In this situation we stopped at a small village, where it was not possible to procure any accommodation, not even a candle to smear the wheel, which required a constant supply of grease to prevent

it from taking fire; and as the next place in our route, likely to afford a new wheel, was above sixty miles distant, we thought it most prudent to return to Tver. I consoled myself readily for this delay, as it gave us an opportunity to pay more attention to the town and its environs than our transient stay had hitherto permitted us. We took up our abode at the same house we had just quitted: it was an inn kept by a German, and was one of the new magnificent brick edifices lately constructed, but almost totally without furniture or beds.

On the following day we made an agreeable excursion into the adjacent country: we first crossed the Volga over a bridge of boats, and the Tyvertza over a raft, and rode between the banks of those two beautiful rivers. We then left the Volga to pursue its course towards the Caspian Sea, watering, as it passes, some of the most fertile provinces of Russia, and bathing the walls of Casan and Astrachan; and we made a circuit in the environs of Tver: we frequently stopped to admire several delightful views of the new town magnificently seated upon the steep bank of the Volga, the country gently sloping towards the river.

Tver lies in the midst of a large plain, interspersed here and there with gentle acclivities, which can hardly be called hills; the country produces in great abundance wheat, rye, barley, oats, buck-wheat, hemp and flax, and all sorts of vegetables. Its forests yield oak, birch, alder, poplar, mountain-ash, pines and firs, junipers, &c. The quadrupeds, which rove in the neighbouring country, are elks, bears, wolves, and foxes; wild-goats, hares, and rabbits; also badgers, martens, weasels, ermines, ferrets, squirrels, and marmottes, &c. The principal birds observed in this district

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XV.

are eagles and falcons, cranes, herons, swans, wild geese and ducks, partridges, quails, woodcocks and snipes, black-game, also crows and ravens, magpies and black-birds, sparrows and starlings, together with nightingales, linnets, larks and yellow-hammers. The fish which are caught in the Volga are salmon, sterlet, tench, pike, perch, groundlings, gudgeons, and sometimes, but rarely, sturgeon and beluga.

The sterlet being a very uncommon fish, and probably peculiar to the northern parts of the globe, I am induced to give a description of it, and to enumerate the principal rivers of Russia in which it is found.

The sterlet, the *acipenser ruthenus* of Linnæus, is a species of sturgeon, and is highly esteemed for the flavour and delicacy of its flesh, and for its roe, from which the finest caviare is made. It is distinguished from the other sturgeons by its inferior size*, being seldom more than three † feet in length, and by its colour. The top of the head and the back are of a yellowish grey; the sides of the body whitish, and the belly white mixed with rose-colour, especially towards the mouth and vent. The eyes are of a sky-blue, encircled with white. The snout is long and pointed, compressed and fluted. The mouth is transverse with thick prominent lips, which it has the power of drawing inwards, with a beard, consisting of four small and soft *cirri*, or wattles. It has five rows of pointed bony imbricated scales, one upon its back, two along its sides, and two under its belly. The row upon its back begins from the neck and

* This description is chiefly taken from Lepckin's Reise, in his account of the fishery of Sinbirk upon the Volga, Vol. II. p. 154.

† Mr. Pallas says, that the sterlets of the Irtysh are, next to those of the Ob, the largest in Russia, being frequently

“ ueber anderthalb ellen long,” or an ell and an half long. By an ell, I suppose, is meant an arshine = 26 inches, and then the length of these will be 3 feet 1 inch. See Pallas' Reise. Part II. p. 446. Lepckin says, that the sterlets of the Volga are seldom more than two feet in length.

reaches to the dorsal fin. Their number*, by which Lin-
 næus ascertains the species, and fixes at 15, varies from
 14 to 17. The two side rows begin from the upper
 angle of the gill-covers, and reach to the middle of the tail :
 their form is flat in the middle, with dentated margins
 turning towards the tail ; their number varies from 60 to 70.
 The two rows, which lie under the belly, begin from the
 pectoral and reach towards the ventral fins : they are four-
 sided, much smaller than those upon the back, and thicker
 than those on the sides. Beside these five rows, there are
 also some adepose bony-scales between the tail and the vent ;
 their number is invariably five.

The rest of the skin is totally without scales, but is ex-
 tremely rough to the touch. It has, like most other fish,
 two pectoral fins, two ventral, one anal, one dorsal, and its
 tail is forked †.

Many authors have erred in supposing this fish to be pe-
 culiar to the Volga and the Caspian sea ; for they frequent
 many other rivers, lakes, and seas, of the Russian empire.
 Muller informs us, that they are caught in the Dnieper,
 and several rivers falling into the Frozen Ocean, parti-
 cularly the Lena ‡. Lange asserts, that they are found in
 the Yenisei ; Pallas describes them as inhabiting the Irtysh,
 Oby, and Yaik ; Georgi mentions them among the fish of
 the lake Baikal, and sometimes in the Angara.—We learn
 from Linnæus, that, by order of Frederic I. king of Sweden,

* *Acipenser Ruthenus cirris* 4. *squamis* næus, in Le Bruyn's Travels, Vol. I. p. 89 ;
dorsalibus 15. Mus. Fred. I. p. 54. and and in Lepekin's Reise, Tab. 9.
 Faun. Sue. 272.—In the Syst. Nat. p. 403, † S. R. G. IX. p. 4. Maygold's Russ-
 he defines it, *Acipenser ordinibus* 5. *squa-* land, Vol. II. p. 416. Pallas Reise, P. I.
marum ossæarum, intermedio ossiculis, 15. p. 284. P. II. p. 446. Georgi Reise, Vol. I.
 p. 177.

† The reader will find an engraving of
 the sterlet in the Museum Fred. I. of Lin-

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some live sterlets, procured from Russia, were thrown into the lake Mæler, where they propagated *.

They have been sometimes caught in the Gulf of Finland, and even in the Baltick; yet they are supposed not to have been natives of those seas, but stray fish, which escaped from some vessels that were beat to pieces in passing the falls of the river Maſta †.

Sept. 19. Having obtained the valuable acquisition of a new wheel, we proceeded on our journey in the afternoon, and were enabled to reach, before the close of the evening, Torshok, which is situated upon the banks of the Tvertza. It is a large straggling place, consisting chiefly of wooden buildings, intermixed with a few publick structures and houses of brick, lately erected at the empress's expence.

Although Torshok was only forty miles distant from Tver, we esteemed it a fortunate circumstance that, during that space, no accident had happened to our carriage. But we were not so successful on the ensuing day; for the axle-tree breaking about six miles from Vidropusk, we walked to that village; and having procured a temporary axle-tree to support our infirm vehicle, we again proceeded in *kibitkis* as far as Viſhnei-Voloſhok, a place remarkable for the canal, which, by uniting the Tvertza and the Maſta, connects the inland navigation between the Caspian and the Baltick.

Viſhnei-Voloſhok, one of the imperial villages enfranchised by the empress, and endowed with considerable privileges, has already reaped many benefits from its new immunities.

* Habitat in lacu Mælero, quem potentissimus Rex Sueciz: Fredericus I. ex Russia allatum in hoc lacu plantari curavit. Faun. Sue. No. 272.

† Bruce relates, in his Memoirs, that "some vessels going for Petersburg with "live fish, called Sterlet, in passing the falls

"of Ladoga were beat to pieces, by which
"accident the fish regained their liberty;
"and some of them were afterwards taken
"at Cronſtadt, and one caught at Stock-
"holm, which were considered as great
"curiosities, as none of them had ever
"been seen in those seas before." p. 112.

The inhabitants, raised from the situation of slaves to that of freemen, seem to have shaken off their former indolence, and to have caught a new spirit of emulation and industry : they have turned their attention to trade ; and are awakened to a sense of the commercial advantages possessed by the place of their abode. The town is divided into regular streets, and is already provided with a large range of shops and warehouses, which line each side of the canal. All the buildings are of wood, excepting the court of justice erected at the charge of the empress, and four brick houses belonging to a rich burgher. During our stay at Vishnei-Voloshok, we did not fail to examine, with great attention, every part of the celebrated canal, of which an account will be given in a future chapter *.

Having procured a new axle-tree, we quitted on the 21st Vishnei-Voloshok, crossed the river Shlina, and continued along a timber road, carried over extensive morasses, and abounding with innumerable small bridges, without railing, and mostly in a shattered state. I observed several villages, as well as fields and gardens, surrounded with wooden palisades, about twelve feet in height, which presented a picturesque appearance. This custom of encircling villages in this country with stakes is very ancient : for among the earliest laws of Russia we find one which enjoins † the peasants, under pain of the knout, to surround the towns and villages with palisades. These enclosures were probably intended as a kind of defence against the desultory incursions of the Tartar hordes before the invention of gunpowder ; and the practice has been preserved, though no

* On the inland navigation of Russia in the next volume.

† Haygold, Vol. I. p. 357.

BOOK longer of use, among a people remarkably tenacious of old
IV. usages.

The country continued for some way a bog, covered with forest, and the villages were built upon eminences of sand rising out of the morafs. We passed the night at Kholiloff, a small village, which had also lately been consumed by fire. We need not wonder at these repeated instances of conflagration which so frequently occur in this country, when we consider that the cottages are built with wood, and that the greatest part of the peasants, like those in Poland, use, instead of candles, long slips of lighted deal, which they carry about the house, and even into hay-lofts, without the least precaution. The next morning, the bad roads having shattered our new wheel, which was awkwardly put together, and began already to display symptoms of premature decay, we stopped to repair: but the repairs were as treacherous as the original fabrick; for, before the end of the stage, it again came to pieces, and we were again delayed some hours at Yedrovo before we could venture to continue our journey, when we thought ourselves blessed with the assistance of a very masterly mechanick, as his workmanship lasted to Zimagor, a small village, prettily situated upon the borders of the lake Valdai. The country around Valdai is the most agreeable and diversified we traversed since our departure from Moscow. It rises agreeably into a variety of gentle eminences, and abounds with beautiful lakes, prettily sprinkled with woody islands, and skirted with forest, corn-fields, and pastures. The largest of these lakes is called Valdai, and seemed to be about twenty-miles in circumference: in the middle is an island containing a convent, which rises with its numerous spires among clusters of surrounding trees. Valdai, which gives its name to the lake, and to the range

range of hills in the midst of which it is situated, contains several new brick-buildings; and even the wooden houses are more decorated than the generality of Russian cottages: it lies upon an agreeable slope, and commands a pleasant view of the lake. The Valdai hills, though of no considerable elevation, are the highest in this part of the country; and separate the waters which flow towards the Caspian from those which make towards the Baltick. From their foot, there was no longer a beautiful diversity of hills and dales, enlivened with lakes; but the country presented, for a considerable way, an uniform flat, with a vast extent of morasses.

On the 24th, in the afternoon, we arrived in good time at Bronitza, a village upon the Mašta, within twenty miles of Novogorod. We took up our abode for the night in the house of a Russian priest, which in no wise differed from the other buildings either in size or goodness. It was very clean, however, and comfortable, having a chimney and being provided with a large plenty of wooden and earthen utensils. The priest, not being attired in his clerical habits, was dressed like the peasants, and was only distinguished from them by his hair, which hung loose over his shoulders to a considerable length. He, his wife, and the rest of the family, were busily employed in extracting the roe from large quantities of fish, which are caught in the Mašta, and with which an excellent caviare is prepared. Having procured from our landlady some of the choicest of these fish, and having purveyed in the village, by means of our servant, a brace of ptarmigans, a bird of the partridge species, we sauntered out, while supper was preparing, towards a neighbouring hill, which strongly attracted our attention.

About two miles from the village, in the middle of a vast plain, rises an insulated hill of a circular form, a compound
of

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of sand and clay ; the lower part, and upwards, to about half its height, is thickly strewed with detached pieces of red and grey granite, similar to many others which make their appearance about the adjacent country. I measured one of these masses, and found it to be twelve feet broad, eight thick, and five above the surface of the ground, but how deep it was buried I could not ascertain.

Naturalists greatly differ concerning the origin of these granitical masses, and by what means they were thus diffused about the face of the earth. Some conjecture, that they were brought and left there by the waters ; others suppose them to have originally made parts of the primitive rocks which existed in many places of the globe, and which by lapse of time, or by violent convulsions, have crumbled or been broken to pieces, and have left every where these vast fragments as monuments of their prior existence *.

Upon the summit of this hill is a brick white-washed church, which is a pleasing object from the adjacent grounds. From its top we had a very singular and extensive prospect. Immediately at its foot the country, for three or four miles, is somewhat open, and divided into large enclosures of pasture and corn. Towards the south rise the Valdai hills, skirting an immense plain, which stretches towards the north, east, and west, as far as the eye can reach ; a vast expanse without a single hillock to obstruct the view : it seemed little more than an endless forest, dotted with a few solitary wooden villages, which appeared so many points in a boundless desert. Beyond, at a great distance, we observed the spires of

* See some curious conjectures upon vertes dans plusieurs contrées de la Russie, these granite stones of Bronitza, in Pallas's *Reise*, &c. Vol. I. p. 42, &c. Travels ; and also in *Histoire des Décou-*

Novogorod, and the lake Ilmen, scarcely discernible through the thick gloom of the trees. CHAP.
I.

The forwardness of the harvest in this northern climate has been already mentioned *: it had been some time taken in, and the new corn was already springing up in many places; that vegetable remains, during winter, buried under the snow; at the melting of which, in spring, it shoots up speedily in these countries, where vegetation, upon the returning warmth of the season, is very quick in all its operations. But as the shortness of the summer does not always allow the grain time to ripen, the peasants use the following method of drying it. They construct a wooden building, somewhat similar to the shell of their common cottages, without windows, and with only a small door: under this structure is a large cavity, in which, a fire being made, the new-cut corn, in the ear, is laid upon the floor and dried; it is then hung upon frames in the open air, and afterwards threshed.

In this part of our journey we passed by numberless herds of oxen, moving towards Petersburg for the supply of that capital. Most of them had been brought from the Ukraine, the nearest part of which country is distant 800 miles from the metropolis. During this long progress the drivers seldom enter any house; they stop to feed their cattle upon the slips of pasture which lie on each side of the road; and they themselves have no other covering in bad weather but what is afforded by the foliage of the trees. In the evening the still silence of the country was awfully interrupted by the occasional lowing of the oxen, and the carols of the drivers, while the solitary gloom of the forest was enlivened by the glare of numerous fires, surrounded by different groups of herdsmen in various attitudes; some

* P. 252.

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were sitting round the flame, some employed in dressing their provisions, and others sleeping upon the bare ground. They resembled, in their dress and manners, a rambling horde of Tartars.

The route from Moscow to Petersburg is continued during a space of 500 miles, almost in a straight line cut through the forest, and is extremely tedious: on each side the trees are cleared away to the breadth of forty or fifty paces; and the whole way lies chiefly through endless tracts of wood, only broken by villages, round which, to a small distance, the grounds are open and cultivated.

The road is of an uniform breadth, and is formed in the following manner: trunks* of trees are laid transversely in rows parallel to each other, and are bound down in the center, and at each extremity, by long poles, or beams, fastened into the ground with wooden pegs; these trunks are covered with layers of boughs, and the whole is strewed over with sand or earth. When the road is new, it is remarkably good; but as the trunks decay or sink into the ground, and as the sand or earth is worn away or washed off by the rain, as is frequently the case for several miles together, it is broken into innumerable holes, and the jolting of the carriage over the bare timber can better be conceived than described. In many places the road may be considered as little else than a perpetual succession of ridges; and the

* Mr. Hanway makes the following curious calculation of the number of trees employed to make a road of 150 versts, or 100 miles. "Allowing one tree with another to be 9 inches diameter, and the length 23 feet, and supposing the foundation and sides to be only half so many more as the bridge is composed of, and the road to be 46 feet wide, here is an

"expence of 2,100,000 trees." Hanway's Travels, vol. I. p. 92.

If we extend this calculation over the whole extent of the Russian empire, reaching 4000 miles in length, and take in the different cross-roads, the expence of wood must be amazing; but the forests are also boundless and inexhaustible.

motion of the carriage a continual concussion, and much greater than I ever experienced over the roughest pavement. CHAP.
1.

The villages which occasionally line this route are extremely similar to each other; they usually consist of a single street, with wooden cottages; a few only being distinguished by brick houses. The cottages in these parts are far superior to those we observed between Tolitzin and Moscow: they seemed, indeed, well suited to a rigorous climate; and although constructed in the rudest and most artless manner, are very comfortable habitations. The site of each building is an oblong square, which surrounds an open area, and, being enclosed within an high wooden wall with a penthouse roof, looks on the outside like a large barn. In one angle of this enclosure stands the house fronting the street of the village, with the stair-case on the outside, and the door opening underneath the penthouse roof. It contains one, or at most two rooms, one whereof is occupied by the whole family.

I have frequently had occasion to observe, that beds are by no means usual in this country; insomuch, that in all the cottages I entered in Russia, I only observed two, each of which contained two women at different ends with their clothes on. The family slept generally upon the benches, on the ground, or over the stove*; occasionally men, women, and children, promiscuously, without any discrimination of sex or condition, and frequently almost in a state of nature. In some cottages I observed a kind of shelf, about six or seven feet from the ground, carried from one end of the room to the other; to which were fastened several transverse planks, and upon these some of the family slept with their heads and feet

* The stove is a kind of brick oven; it occupies almost a quarter of the room, and is flat at top.

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IV.

occasionally hanging down, and appearing to us, who were not accustomed to such places of repose, as if they were upon the point of falling to the ground.

The number of persons thus crouded into a small space, and which sometimes amounted to twenty, added to the heat of the stove, rendered the room intolerably warm, and produced a suffocating smell, which nothing but use enabled us to support. This inconvenience was still more disagreeable in those cottages which were not provided with chimnies, when the smoke, being confined in the room, loaded the atmosphere with additional impurities. If we opened the lattices during the night, in order to relieve us from this oppression by the admission of fresh air, such an influx of cold wind rushed into the room, that we preferred the heat and effluvia to the keenness of these northern blasts.

In the midst of every room hangs from the cieling a vessel of holy water, and a lamp, which is lighted only on particular occasions. Every house is provided with a picture of some saint coarsely daubed upon wood, which frequently resembles more a Calmuc idol, than the representation of a human head : to this the people pay the highest marks of veneration. All the members of the family the moment they rose in the morning, and before they retired to sleep in the evening, never omitted standing before the saint ; they crossed themselves during several minutes upon the sides and on the forehead ; bowed very low, and sometimes even prostrated themselves on the ground. Every peasant also, upon entering the room, always paid his obeisance to this object of worship before he addressed himself to the family.

The peasants, in their common intercourse, are remarkably polite to each other : they take off their cap at meeting ; bow ceremoniously and frequently, and usually exchange

change a salute. They accompany their ordinary discourse with much action and innumerable gestures, and are exceedingly fervile in their expressions of deference to their superiors : in accosting a person of consequence, they prostrate themselves, and even touch the ground with their heads. We were often struck at receiving this kind of eastern homage, not only from beggars, but frequently from children, and occasionally from some of the peasants themselves.

CHAP.
L

In the appearance of the common people, nothing surprised us more than the enormous thickness of their legs, which we at first conceived to be their real dimensions, until we were undeceived by the frequent exhibition of their bare feet, and by being admitted to their *toilets* without the least ceremony. The bulk, which created our astonishment, proceeded from the vast quantity of coverings with which they swaddle their legs in summer, as well as in winter. Beside one or two pair of thick worsted stockings, they envelop their legs with wrappers of coarse flannel or cloth several feet in length ; and over these they frequently draw a pair of boots, so large as to receive their bulky contents with the utmost facility.

The peasants are well clothed, comfortably lodged, and seem to enjoy plenty of wholesome food. Their rye-bread, whose blackness at first disgusts the eye, and whose sourness the taste of a delicate traveller, agrees very well with the appetite ; as I became reconciled to it from use, I found it at all times no unpleasant morsel, and, when seasoned with hunger, it was quite delicious : they render this bread more palatable by stuffing it with onions and groats, carrots or green corn, and seasoning it with sweet oil. The other articles of their food I have enumerated on a former occasion * ;

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IV.

in this place I shall only observe that mushrooms are so exceedingly common in these regions, as to form a very essential part of their provision. I seldom entered a cottage without seeing great abundance of them, and in passing through the markets, I was often astonished at the prodigious quantity exposed for sale: their variety was no less remarkable than their number; they were of many colours, amongst which I particularly noticed white, black, brown, yellow, green, and pink. The common drink of the peasants is quass, a fermented liquor, somewhat like sweet-wort, made by pouring warm water on rye or barley-meal; and deemed an excellent antiscorbutick. They are extremely fond of whisky, a spirituous liquor distilled from malt, which the poorest can occasionally command, and which their inclination often leads them to use to great excess.

The backwardness of the Russian peasants in all the mechanical arts, when compared with those of the other nations of Europe, is visible to the most superficial observer. As we approached, indeed, towards Petersburg, and nearer the civilized parts of Europe, we could not fail to remark, that the villagers were somewhat more furnished with the conveniences of life, and somewhat further advanced in the knowledge of the necessary arts, than those who fell under our notice between Tolitzin and Moscow. The planks were less frequently hewn with the axe, and saw-pits, which we had long considered as objects of curiosity, oftener occurred; the cottages were more spacious and convenient, provided with larger windows, and generally had chimnies: they were also more amply-stored with household furniture, and with wooden, and sometimes even earthen utensils.

Still,

Still, however, their progress towards civilization is very inconsiderable; and many instances of the grossest barbarism fell under our observation, during the daily intercourse we necessarily maintained with the peasants. One instance I shall mention, because it will serve to show into what a wretched state of ignorance the common people are still plunged, when even the smallest trace of such immoral practices still subsists amongst them. In many families the father marries his son, while a boy of seven, eight, or nine years old, to a girl of a more advanced age, in order, as it is said, to procure an able-bodied woman for the domestick service: he cohabits with this person, now become his daughter-in-law, and frequently has several children by her. In my progress through Russia, I observed in some cottages, as it were, two mistresses of a family, one the peasant's real wife, who was old enough to be his mother, and the other, who was nominally the son's wife, but, in reality, the father's concubine. These incestuous marriages, sanctified by inveterate custom, and permitted by the parish-priests, were formerly more common than they are at present; but as the nation becomes more refined, and the priests somewhat more enlightened, and as they have lately been discountenanced by government, they are daily falling into disuse; and it is to be hoped, will be no longer tolerated *.

CHAP.
I.

Those

* The truth of this fact, which fell under my own observation, and which I authenticated by repeated inquiries from all ranks of people, is still further confirmed by the following passage in the *Antidote to the Journey into Siberia*, although the author gives another reason for these early marriages. "The peasants and common

" people not only marry their sons at four-
 " teen and fifteen years of age, but even at
 " eight or nine, and that for the sake of
 " having a work-woman the more in the
 " person of their son's wife: by the same
 " rule, they try to keep their daughters
 " single as long as possible, because they
 " don't chuse to lose a work-woman. These
 " premature

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IV.

Those peasants who furnish post horses are called *yamshiks*, and enjoy some peculiar privileges. They are obliged to supply all couriers and travellers at a most moderate price, namely, in the dearest parts at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ and in many other parts at $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per verst* for each horse; and, in compensation, they are exempted from the payment of the poll-tax, and from being enlisted as soldiers; notwithstanding these immunities, the price they receive for their horses is so inconsiderable, that they always produce them with the greatest reluctance. The instant a traveller demands a supply of fresh horses, the *yamshiks* assemble in crowds, and frequently wrangle and quarrel to such a degree, as to afford amusement to a person who is not impatient to depart. Their squabbles and disputes upon this occasion are so remarkable as to have struck all travellers who have given any account of this country. Chancellor, the first Englishman who landed at Archangel, and went from thence to Moscow, could not fail to observe this circumstance, which equally prevailed at that period as at present †. “Expressed commandment was given, that
“post-horses should be gotten for him, and the rest of his
“company, without any money. Which thing was, of all
“the Russes in the rest of their journey, so willingly done,
“that they began to quarrel, yea, and to fight also, in striving and contending which of them should put their post-horses* to the sledde.”

In this description, however, Chancellor has made a ludicrous mistake; for the object of their squabbles was not to

“premature marriages are of very little use
“to the state; for which reason, methods
“to get the better of this custom have
“been sought for, and I hope will soon take
“place: the bishops are attentive to prevent these marriages as much as possible,
“and have of late succeeded greatly in

“their endeavours. It is only the inhabitants of some of the provinces in Russia
“that still retain this bad custom.” P. 323.
Antidote.

* Three quarters of a mile.

† Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. I. p. 247.

obtain

obtain, but to decline, the honour of furnishing him with horses. The same scene is frequently renewed at present ; CHAP.
I. as I have occasionally observed that an hour's unremitted altercation produced no effect, and that the post-master at length obliged the yamshics to settle the intricate contest by drawing lots. Indeed, as I have before remarked *, it is absolutely necessary for any foreigner, who wishes to travel with expedition, not only to be provided with a passport, but also to be accompanied with a Russian soldier. The latter, immediately upon his arrival at the post-house, instead of attending to the arguments of the peasants, or waiting for the slow mediation of the post-master; summarily decides the business by the powerful interposition of his cudgel. The boors, quickly *silenced* by this *dumb mode of argumentation* †, find no difficulty in adjusting their pretensions, and the horses almost instantly make their appearance.

In our route through Russia I was greatly surprized at the propensity of the natives to singing. Even the peasants, who acted in the capacity of coachmen and postilions, were no sooner mounted than they began to warble an air, and continued it, without the least intermission, for several hours. But what still more astonished me was, that they performed occasionally in parts ; and I have frequently observed them engaged in a kind of musical dialogue, making reciprocal questions and responses, as if they were chanting, (if I may so express myself), their ordinary conversation.

The postilions *sing*, as I have just observed, from the beginning to the end of a stage ; the soldiers *sing* continually during their march ; the countrymen *sing* during the most

* P. 356.

† Argumentum Baculinum.

BOOK
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laborious occupations: the public-houses re-echo with their carols; and in a still evening I have frequently heard the air vibrate with the notes from the surrounding villages.

An ingenious author*, long resident in Russia, and who has turned his attention to the study of the national musick, gives us the following information upon this curious subject. The general musick that prevails among the common people in Russia, from the Duna to the Amoor and the Frozen Ocean, consists in one species of simple melody, which admits of infinite variation, according to the ability of the finger, or the custom of the several provinces in this extensive empire. The words of the songs are mostly in prose, and often extempore, according to the immediate invention or recollection of the finger; perhaps an antient legend, the history of an enormous giant, a declaration of love, a dialogue between a lover and his mistress, a murder, or the description of a beautiful girl: sometimes they are merely letters and syllables taken from some old accident, metrically arranged, but seldom in rhyme, and adapted to this general air. These latter words are chiefly used by mothers in singing to their children, while the boors, at the same time, perform their national dance to the same tune, unaccompanied with instrumental musick.

I have been also informed, that the subject of the song frequently alludes to the former adventures of the finger, or to his present situation; and that the peasants adapt the

* Stachlin. See his Nachrichten von lagen, V. II. p. 60 to 65; where specimens of this air are given.

topicks of their common discourse, and their disputes with each other, to this general air ; which, altogether, forms an extraordinary effect ; and led me to conjecture, as I have before expressed myself, that they chanted their ordinary conversation.

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I.

C H A P. II.

Novogorod.—*Its antiquity, power, grandeur, independence, decline, subjection, and downfall.—Its present state.—Cathedral of St. Sophia.—Early introduction of painting into Russia.—Price of provisions at Novogorod.—Incidents of the journey to Petersburg.*

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AT Bronitza we crossed the Mafta upon a raft composed of seven or eight trees rudely joined together, and which scarcely afforded room for the carriage and two horses. We then continued our route, through a level country, to the banks of the Volkovetz or Little Volkof, which we passed in a ferry; and, after mounting a gentle rise, descended into the open marshy plain of pasture, which reaches, without interruption, to the walls of Novogorod: that place, at a small distance, exhibited a most magnificent appearance; and if we might judge from the great number of churches and convents, which on every side presented themselves to our view, announced our approach to a considerable city; but upon our entrance our expectations were by no means realized.

No place ever filled me with more melancholy ideas of fallen grandeur than the town of Novogorod. It is one of the most antient cities in Russia; and was formerly called *Great Novogorod*, to distinguish it from other Russian towns of a similar appellation *. According to Nestor, the earliest

* Nishnei Novogorod and Novogorod Severskoi.

of the Russian historians, it was built at the same time with Kiof, namely, in the middle of the fifth century, by a Slavonian horde, who, according to Procopius, issued from the banks of the Volga. Its antiquity is clearly proved by a passage in the Gothick historian, Jornandes, in which it is called *Civitas Nova*, or *New Town* *. We have little insight into its history before the ninth century, when Ruric the first great-duke of Russia reduced it, and made it the metropolis of his vast dominions. The year subsequent to his death, which happened in 879, the seat of government was removed, under his son Igor then an infant, to Kiof; and Novogorod continued, for above a century, under the jurisdiction of governors nominated by the great-dukes, until, in 970, Svatoflaf, the son of Igor, created his third son Vladimir duke of Novogorod: the latter, succeeding his father in the throne of Russia, ceded the town to his son Yaroflaf, who, in 1036, granted to the inhabitants very considerable privileges, that laid the foundation of that extraordinary degree of liberty which they afterwards gradually obtained. From this period Novogorod was for a long time governed by its own dukes: these sovereigns were at first subordinate to the great-dukes, who resided at Kiof and Volodimir; but afterwards, as the town increased in population and wealth, they gradually usurped an absolute independency.

But while they thus shook off the yoke of a distant lord, they were unable to maintain their authority over their own subjects. Although the succession was allowed to continue in the same family; yet, as the dukes were elected by the in-

* Slavini a Civitate Novâ et Slavino Rumunense, et lacu qui appellatur Musianus, &c. This lake is the Ilmen, and the

Civitas Nova, Novogorod. S. R. G. vol. V. p. 383.

† S. R. G. vol. V. p. 397.

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habitants, they gradually bartered away, as the price of their nomination, all their most valuable prerogatives. They were too so frequently deposed, that, for near two centuries, the list of the dukes resembles more a calendar of annual magistrates, than a regular line of hereditary princes : and, in effect, Novogorod was a republick under the jurisdiction of a nominal sovereign.

The privileges enjoyed by the inhabitants, however unfavourable to the power of the dukes, greatly befriended the real interests of the town : it became the great mart of trade between Russia and the Hanseatick cities ; and made the most rapid advances in opulence and population. At this period its dominions were so extensive *, its power so great, and its situation so impregnable, as to give rise to a proverb, *Quis contra Deos et Magnam Novogardiam ?* Who can resist the Gods and Great Novogorod ?

It continued in this flourishing state until the middle of the 15th century, when the great-dukes of Russia, whose ancestors had reigned over this town, and who still retained the title of dukes of Novogorod, having transferred their residence from Kiof to Volodimir and afterwards to Moscow, laid claim to its feudal sovereignty, a demand which the inhabitants sometimes put off by composition, sometimes by resistance, but were sometimes compelled to acknowledge. At length, in 1471, Ivan Vassilievitch I. having secured his dominions against the inroads of the Tartars, and having extended his empire by the conquest of the neighbouring principalities, ventured to assert his right to the sovereignty of Novogorod, and enforced his pretensions by a formidable

* Its territory extended to the North as far as the frontiers of Livonia and Finland, and comprised great part of the province of Archangel, and a large district beyond the north-western limits of Siberia.

army : he vanquished the troops of the republick opposed to him in the field ; and, having forced the citizens to acknowledge his claims, appointed a governor, who was permitted to reside in the town, and to exercise the authority formerly vested in their own dukes *. This power, however, being exceedingly limited, left them in the entire possession of their most valuable immunities : they retained their own laws ; chose their own magistrates ; and the governor never interfered in publick affairs except by appeal.

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Ivan, however, by no means contented with this limited species of government, watched a favourable opportunity of extending his authority ; and, as a pretence is never wanting to a powerful aggressor, he, in 1477, laid siege to the town. His designs being abetted by the internal feuds and dissensions which had long prevailed in this independent republick, the inhabitants were constrained to subscribe to all the conditions imposed by the haughty conqueror. The gates were thrown open ; the great-duke entered the place in the character of sovereign ; and the whole body of people, tendering the oath of allegiance, delivered into his hands the charter of their liberties, which unanimity would still have preserved inviolate.

One circumstance, recorded by historians as a proof of the unconditional subjection of the town, was the removal of an enormous bell from Novogorod to Moscow, denominated by the inhabitants *eternal*, and revered as the symbol of their liberty and the palladium of their privileges. It was suspended in the market-place ; its sacred sound drew the people instantly from the most remote parts, and tolled the

* Its government was similar to that of the German republicks, who acknowledge the emperor as their liege-lord, but are under the jurisdiction of their own magistrates.

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signal of foreign danger or intestine tumult. The great-
duke peremptorily demanded this object of the publick ve-
neration, which he called "*The larum of sedition*;" and the
inhabitants considered its surrender as the sure prelude of
departing liberty *.

From this period the great-duke became in effect absolute
sovereign of Novogorod, although the ostensible forms of its
government were still preserved; in order to ensure the
obedience of his new subjects, he transplanted at once above
a thousand of the principal citizens to Moscow and other
towns, and secured the Kremlin, in which he generally re-
sided when he came to Novogorod, with strong walls of
brick. Notwithstanding the despotism to which the inha-
bitants were subject, and the oppression which they experi-
enced from Iván and his successors, yet Novogorod still con-
tinued the largest and most commercial city in all Russia,
as will evidently appear from the following description of
Richard Chanceler, who passed through it in 1554 in his
way to Moscow. "Next unto Moscow, the city of Novo-
gorode is reputed the chiefest of Russia; for although it
be in majestie inferior to it, yet in greatnesse it goeth be-
yond it. It is the chiefest and greatest marte towne of all
Moscovie; and albeit the emperor's seate is not there, but
at Mosco, yet the commodiousnesse of the river, falling
into that gulse which is called Sinus Finnicus, whereby it
is well frequented by merchants, makes it more famous
than Mosco itself †."

* "Devenue sujette," says L'Evesque
with great spirit, "elle va chaque jour per-
dre de son domaine, de sa population, de
son commerce, de ses richesses, &c. dans
moins d'un siècle, à peine sera-t-elle une

"ville importante: tant le souffle du pou-
voir arbitraire est brûlant & destructeur."
Histoire de Russie, Tom. II. p. 327.

† Hackluyt, vol. I. p. 251.

An idea of its populousness, during this period, when compared with its present declined state, is manifest from the fact, that in 1508 above 15,000 persons died of an epidemical disorder*; more than double the number of its present inhabitants. In its most flourishing condition it contained at least 400,000 souls†. Under the reign of Ivan Vassilievitch II. the prosperity of Novogorod experienced a most fatal downfall, from which it never recovered: that monarch having, in 1570, discovered a secret correspondence between some of the principal inhabitants and Sigismund Augustus king of Poland, relative to a surrender of the city into his hands, inflicted the most exemplary and inhuman vengeance upon them. He repaired in person to Novogorod, and appointed a court of inquiry, justly denominated the *tribunal of blood*. Contemporary historians relate, that its proceedings continued during the space of five weeks; and that on each day of this fatal period more than 500 inhabitants fell victims to the vengeance of incensed despotism. According to some authors, 25,000, according to others, more than 30,000 persons perished in this dreadful carnage. Those writers, who were the tzar's enemies, have probably exaggerated the number of these executions; and it is but justice to add, that some‡ circumstances in their relations are proved to be unquestionably

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* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 494.

† It now contains scarcely 7000.

‡ Both foreign and Russian authors relate that many of the condemned were thrown from the bridge into the river, and that persons were placed in boats, who prevented them from escaping by swimming, but they do not consider, that this fact is said to have passed in winter, when the rivers in Russia are all frozen. L'Evesque softens this account, but without sufficient authority, by saying, "Il fit ouvrir les glaces du Volkhof,

"& l'on y précipitait les citoyens par centaines." Hist. de Russie II. p. 482. Other historians relate, that he assembled in one spot the principal inhabitants of the town, that he rode amongst them, accompanied by his son, and pierced the unfortunate victims of his fury with his own hands, until, fatigued with the massacre, he ordered his guards to complete the butchery. But such exaggerated accounts do not deserve much credit.

BOOK IV. false; but though we ought not to give implicit credit to all the accounts recorded by his adversaries, yet, even by the confession of his apologists, there still remains sufficient evidence of his savage ferocity in this barbarous transaction, which equals, if not surpasses, in cruelty, the massacre at Stockholm under Christian II.

This horrid catastrophe and the subsequent oppressions which the town experienced from that great, though sanguinary prince, so impaired its strength, that it is described as a place of ruin and desolation by Uhlfield, the Danish ambassador, who soon afterwards passed through it. But although the splendour of this once flourishing town received a very considerable diminution, yet it was not totally obscured until the foundation of Peterburgh, to which favourite capital Peter the Great transferred all the commerce of the Baltick, which before centered in Novogorod.

The present town is surrounded by a rampart of earth, with a range of old towers at regular distances, forming a circumference of scarcely a mile and an half; and even this inconsiderable circle includes much open space, and many houses which are not inhabited. As Novogorod was built after the manner of the antient towns of this country in the Asiatick style, this rampart, like that of the Semlainogorod at Moscow, probably enclosed several interior circles: without it was a vast extensive suburb, which reached to the distance of six miles, and included within its circuit all the convents and churches, the antient ducal palace and other structures, that now make a splendid, but solitary appearance, as they lie scattered in the adjacent plain.

Novogorod stretches on both sides of the Volkof, a beautiful river of considerable depth and rapidity, and somewhat
broader

broadër than the Thames at Windfor. This river separates the town into two divisions, the Trading Part, and the Quarter of St. Sophia, which are united by means of a bridge, partly wooden, and partly brick. CHAP. II.

The first division, or the Trading Part, is, excepting the governor's house, only a rude cluster of wooden habitations, and in noother respect distinguished from the common villages, than by a vast number of brick churches and convents, which stand melancholy monuments of its former magnificence. In all parts I was struck with these remains of ruined grandeur; while half-cultivated fields enclosed within high palisadoes, and large spaces covered with nettles, attested its present desolate condition. Towards its extremity a brick edifice, and several detached structures of the same materials, erected at the empreses expence, for a manufacture of ropes and sails, exhibited a most splendid figure when contrasted with the surrounding wooden hovels in the town.

The opposite division, denominated the Quarter of St. Sophia, derives its appellation from the cathedral of that name, and comprehends the fortress or Kremlin, constructed for the purpose of curbing the inhabitants, and of preventing the frequent insurrections occasioned by the rising spirit of oppressed liberty. It is of an irregularly oval form, and surrounded by an high brick wall, strengthened with round and square towers: the wall is similar to that which encloses the Kremlin at Moscow; and was constructed in 1490 by the Italian architect Solarius of Milan, at the order of Ivan Vassilievitch I. soon after his conquest of Novogorod. The fortress contains the cathedral of St. Sophia, the old archiepiscopal mansion with its stair-case on the outside, part of a new palace which was not yet finished,

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a few other brick buildings, but the remaining space is a waste, overspread with weeds and nettles, and covered with ruins.

The cathedral of St. Sophia is probably one of the most antient churches in Russia: it was begun in 1044 by Vladimir Yaroslávitch duke of Novogorod, and completed in 1051*. It was probably constructed soon after Christianity was first propagated in Russia by the Greeks, and was called St. Sophia, from the church of that name in Constantinople. It is a high square building, with a gilded cupola, and four tin domes. We entered this venerable pile through a pair of brazen gates, ornamented with various figures in alto relievo, representing the Passion of our Saviour, and other scriptural histories. The priest informed me, that, according to tradition, these gates of brass were brought from the antient town of Cherson†, where Vladimir the Great was baptized, and are supposed to be of Grecian workmanship: they are in consequence of this persuasion called Korfunkie Dveri, the doors of Cherson. But if we admit the truth of this tradition, how shall we account for the following Latin characters, which I observed upon them?

P. e. WICMANNVS MEGIDEBVRGENSIS

ALEXANDER epe DEBLVCICH.

AVE MARIA GPACIA PLEHS DHS TEECVGL.

The first part of this inscription seems to prove rather, that they came from Magdeburgh in Germany; and it is a circumstance by no means improbable, as the inhabitants of Novogorod, through their commercial connections, main-

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 398. A wooden church of the same name had been first constructed about the year 1000 by Joachim, the first bishop of Novogorod, on the spot,

where this cathedral now stands. Ibid. p. 394.

† Now Kerth, in Crim Tartary.

tained,

tained, even in those early times, a no less frequent intercourse with Germany than with Greece. CHAP.
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In the inside of this cathedral are twelve massy pillars white-washed, which, as well as the walls, are thickly covered with the representations of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and of various saints. Some of these paintings are of very high antiquity, and probably anterior to the revival of the art in Italy. The following reasons induce me to adopt this opinion. Many of these figures are in a *bard flat style* of colouring upon a *gold ground*, and exactly similar to those of the Greek artists, by whom, according to Vafari, painting was first introduced into Italy in the following manner.

Towards the latter end of the 13th century some Greek artists were invited to Florence to paint the chapel of the Gondi in that city. Although their design and colouring were very *bard and flat*, and they chiefly represented the figures on a *field of gold*; yet their productions were much admired in that ignorant century. Cimabue, who was then a boy, was so struck with their performance, that he was accustomed to pass all the time he could steal from school in contemplating the progress of their work. His enthusiasm being thus kindled, he turned his whole attention to the study of an art to which his natural genius seemed inclined. His first compositions had all the defects of the masters whom he imitated; but he gradually improved as he advanced, and laid the first rude foundation of that astonishing excellence which the schools of Italy afterwards attained.

As painting was thus brought into Italy from the Greek empire, when there was scarcely any connection between those two countries, we may be well assured that it was introduced at a more early period into Russia, from the same quarter; not only because a constant intercourse had been long

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long maintained between the great-dukes and the emperors of Constantinople; and because the patriarch of that city was formerly the head of the church established in Russia; but likewise because the Russians, being converted to Christianity by the Greeks, were accustomed, after their example, to decorate their temples with various figures, and must have received from them many portraits of saints, which form in their religion a necessary part of divine worship. We may conclude, therefore, that the cathedral of St. Sophia, which was built in the 11th century, and is one of the most antient churches of Russia, was necessarily ornamented with the figures of saints by some Greek artists, which the great-dukes of Novogorod drew from Constantinople. The daubings in question, indeed, are so indifferent, as not to have deserved a particular inquiry, if they had not assisted in illustrating the progress of the liberal arts, and in ascertaining the early introduction of painting into this country, at a period when it was unknown even in Italy*.

Several princes of the ducal family of Russia are interred in this cathedral. The first is Vladimir Yaroslavitch, who was born in 1020, died in 1051†, and was buried in this church, which he himself had founded, and just lived to see completed. Beside his tomb, are those of his mother Anne, daughter of the eastern emperor Romanus, his wife Alexandra, his brother Mislislaf, and, lastly, of Feodor, brother of Alexander Nevski, who died in 1228. The most antient of these sepulchres are of carved wood gilt and silvered, and surrounded with iron rails; the others are of

* Jam diu pingunt Rutheni, et quis credat? seculo duodecimo, says Falconi.—See

Essai sur la Bib. &c. p. 19.

† S. R. G. vol. V. p. 399.

brick and mortar. Within the sanctuary the walls are covered with curious Mosaick compartments, of coarse workmanship, and seemingly very antient. CHAP. II.

Our landlord was a German ; and his inn, though small, was one of the most commodious we had hitherto met with in Russia : it was neatly furnished, and afforded us beds, a great article of luxury in this country, which we had no small difficulty to procure even in the city of Moscow.

By the assistance of our landlord we obtained the following list of the price of provisions in these parts :

	s. d.	s. d.
Butcher's meat per Russian pound *	1½	to 0 2
Black bread per ditto	½	
White common ditto	1	
French ditto	2	
Butter ditto	4	
Ten eggs from	1½	to 0 5
Pair of fowls from	1 3	to 1 8
Fatted goose	1	
Couple of wild ducks	6	
Tame ditto	1 3	
Brace of partridges	10	
Black game, cock and hen	1 6	
Hare	7½	
Quart of milk	1½	
Best spirituous liquors per quart	1 5½	
Worst fort	8½	
Pair of peasants leather shoes	1 3	
Boots	4 10	
Round hat	1 3	
Peasant's shirt, no collar or wristband, and very short	1 3	

Our coach was so shattered by the bad roads, that we thought it most prudent to leave it at Novogorod, and

* A Russian pound = 14½ English ounces.

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we continued our journey in the common carriages of the country, called *kibitkis*. A *kibitki* is a small cart, capable of containing two persons abreast, while the driver sits upon the further extremity close to the horses' tails. It is about five feet in length, and the hinder half is covered with a semicircular canopy, open in front like the top of a cradle, made of laths interwoven and covered with birch or beech-bark. There is not a piece of iron in the whole machine. It has no springs, and is fastened by means of wooden pins, ropes, and sticks, to the four wheels, the boxes of which are of an extraordinary length, and project above a foot beyond the orbit of the wheels. The Russians, when they travel in these carriages, place a feather-bed in the bottom, admirably calculated to break the intolerable jolts and concussions, occasioned by the uneven timber roads. With this precaution a *kibitki*, though inferior in splendour, equals in comfort the most commodious vehicle. The traveller stretches himself at his length upon the feather-bed, and, if inclined, may dose away the journey in perfect tranquillity. But being novices as to the best method of equipping this species of conveyance, we suffered a layer of trunks and other hard baggage to be substituted in the place of feather-beds; these substances, so much more bulky, and so much less yielding than down, obliged us either to sit under the canopy in a sloping posture, or upon the narrow edge of the carriage; in the alternate enjoyment of which delectable positions, we passed twelve hours without intermission, and with no refreshment. Those who have ever regaled themselves amidst a pile of loose trunks and boxes in the basket of a heavy-laden stage-coach, over

the roughest pavement, would esteem that mode of convey-
apce luxury to what we experienced. Our impatience, how-
ever, to reach Petersburg beguiled in some measure the
bruises we received from our *kibitkis* and their contents; and
induced us to persevere in our rout till after ten at night, when,
upon our being deposited in a small village, I had scarcely
strength remaining to crawl to some fresh straw spread for
our beds in the corner of an unfurnished inn: with the
comforts of this delightful place of repose I was so ena-
moured, that I could not be prevailed upon to relinquish it
even for a few minutes, for the enjoyment of an excellent
ragout prepared by our servant, and which a constant fast-
ing since nine in the morning tended greatly to recommend.

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A tolerable night's rest, and the prospect of only fifty
miles between us and Petersburg, induced us to reassume
our former stations, and to brave a repetition of our fatigue.

The country we passed through was ill calculated to al-
leviate our sufferings by transferring our attention from our-
selves to the objects around us. Excepting the environs of
Novogorod, which were tolerably open, the road made of
timber, as described on a former occasion, and as straight as
an arrow, ran through a perpetual forest, without the least
intermixture of hill or dale, and with but few slips of cultivated
ground. Through the dreary extent of 110 miles, the
gloomy uniformity of the forest was only broken by a few
solitary villages at long distances from each other, without
the intervention of a single house. Itchora, the last village
at which we changed horses, though but 20 miles from the
capital, was small and wretched, and the adjacent country as
inhospitable and unpeopled as that we had already passed.
About ten miles from Itchora we suddenly turned to the
right, and the scene instantaneously brightened: the woods

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gave way to cultivation ; the country began to be enlivened with houses ; the inequalities of the timber road were succeeded by the level of a spacious causeway equal to the finest turnpikes of England ; the end of each verst* was marked with superb mile-stones of granite and marble ; and a long avenue of trees was closed at the distance of a few miles with a view of Petersburg, the object of our wishes, and the termination of our labours.

* Throughout all the high roads of Russia, each verst (or three-quarters of a mile) is marked by a wooden post, about twelve feet in height, painted red.

C H A P. III.

Justification of Peter the Great for transferring the seat of empire from Moscow to St. Petersburg.—Description of the new metropolis.—Its foundation and progress.—Circumference and population.—Inundations of the Neva.—Remarkable flood in the year 1777.—Bridge of pontoons.—Plan for a bridge of a single arch across the Neva.—Colossal statue of Peter the Great.—Account of the pedestal, and of its conveyance to Petersburg.—General observations on the weather at St. Petersburg during the winter of 1778.—Precautions against the cold.—Diversions and winter scenes upon the Neva.—Ice-bills.—Annual fair upon its frozen surface.

SAINTE PETERSBURGH is situated in the latitude of 59° 56' 23" north, and longitude 30° 25" east, from the first meridian of Greenwich. It stands upon the Neva, near the Gulf of Finland, and is built partly upon some islands in the mouth of that river, and partly upon the continent. Its principal divisions are as follow: 1. The Admiralty quarter; 2. The Vassili-Ostrof*; 3. The fortrefs; 4. The Island of St. Petersburg; and 5. The various suburbs, called the suburbs of Livonia, of Moscow, of Alexander Nevski, and of Wiburgh. Their peculiar situation, with respect to each other, will be better explained by the annexed plan of the town, than by the most elaborate description.

Peter the Great has incurred considerable censure for transferring the seat of empire from Moscow to Petersburg: it has been urged, with some degree of plausibility, that he was in

* Ostrof signifies Island.

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effect more an Asiatick than an European sovereign; that Moscow, lying nearer to the center of his dominions, was better calculated for the imperial residence; and that, by removing his capital, he neglected the interior provinces, and sacrificed every other consideration to his predilection for the settlements upon the Baltick.

But it by no means appears, that although Peterburgh was thus situated at the extremity of Russia, that therefore he neglected any other part of his vast dominions. On the contrary, he was no less attentive to his Asiatick than to his European provinces: his repeated negotiations with the Chinese; his campaigns against the Turks; and his conquest of the Persian provinces which border upon the Caspian prove the truth of this assertion. It is no less obvious, that Europe was the quarter from whence the greatest danger to his throne impended, that the Swedes were his most formidable enemies, and that from them the very existence of his empire was threatened with annihilation. It was not by leading his troops against the desultory bands of Turks or Persians, that he was able to acquire a solid military force; but by training them to endure the firm attack of regular battalions, and to learn to conquer at last by repeated defeats: with this design, the nearer he fixed his seat to the borders of Sweden, whose veterans had long been the terror of the north, the more readily his troops would imbibe their military spirit, and learn, by encountering them, their well regulated manœuvres. Add to this, that the protection of the new commerce, which he opened through the Baltick, depended upon the creation and maintenance of a naval force, which required his immediate and almost continual inspection.

To this circumstance alone is owing the rapid and respectable rise of the Russian power, its preponderance in the north, and its political importance in the scale of Europe. In a word, had not Peter I. transferred the seat of government to the shores of the Baltick, the Russian navy had never rode triumphant in the Turkish seas; and Catharine II. had never stood forth what she now is, the arbitress of the north, and the mediatrix * of Europe.

Thus much with respect to the political consequence which Russia derived from the position of the new metropolis: its internal improvement, the great object of Peter's reign, was considerably advanced by approaching its capital to the more civilized parts of Europe; by this means he drew the nobility from their rude magnificence and feudal dignity at Moscow to a more immediate dependence upon the sovereign, to more polished manners, to a greater degree of social intercourse. Nor was there any other cause, perhaps, which so much tended to promote his plans for the civilization of his subjects, as the removal of the imperial seat from the inland provinces to the shores of the Gulf of Finland. For the nearer the residence of the monarch is brought to the more polished nations, the more frequent will be the intercourse with them, and the more easy the adoption of their arts; and in no other parts could the influx of foreigners be so great as where they were allured by commerce.

In opposition to the censurers of Peter, we cannot but esteem this act one of the most beneficial of his reign: and one might even venture to assert, that if, by any revolution of Europe, this empire should lose its acquisitions on the Baltick; if the court should repair to Moscow, and maintain a fainter

* It must be remembered, that Catharine II. mediated the peace of Teschen, in 1779, between the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia.

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connection with the European powers before any essential reformation in the manners of the people should have taken place, Russia would soon relapse into her original barbarism; and no traces of the memorable improvements introduced by Peter I. and Catharine II. would be found but in the annals of history.

As I walked about this metropolis I was filled with astonishment upon reflecting, that so late as the beginning of this century, the ground on which Petersburg now stands was only a vast morass occupied by a few fishermen's huts. The first building of the city is so recent as to be almost remembered by some persons who are now alive; and its gradual progress is accordingly traced without the least difficulty. Peter the Great had no sooner wrested Ingria from the Swedes, and advanced the boundaries of his empire to the shores of the Baltick, than he determined to erect a fortress upon a small island in the mouth of the Neva, for the purpose of securing his conquests, and opening a new channel of commerce *. As a prelude to this undertaking, a small battery was immediately raised on another island of the Neva, upon the spot now occupied by the Academy of Sciences, and it was commanded by Vassili Dmitrievitch Kortshmin. All the orders of the emperor sent to this officer were directed Vassili na Ostrof, to Vassili upon the Island; and hence this part of the town was called Vassili Ostrof, or the Island of Vassili.

The fortress was begun on the 16th of May, 1703; and, notwithstanding all the obstructions arising from the marshy nature of the ground, and the inexperience of the workmen,

* See Hist. Geog. and Top. Beschreibung der Stadt S. Pet. in the Journal of St. Pet. for 1779.

a small citadel surrounded with a rampart of earth, and strengthened with six bastions, was completed in a short space of time. An author*, who was in Russia at that period, informs us, "that the labourers were not furnished with the necessary tools, as pick-axes, spades and shovels, wheelbarrows, planks, and the like; notwithstanding which, the work went on with such expedition, that it was surprizing to see the fortress raised within less than five months, though the earth, which is very scarce thereabouts, was, for the greater part, carried by the labourers in the skirts of their clothes, and in bags made of rags and old mats, the use of wheel-barrows being then unknown to them."

Within the fortress a few wooden habitations were erected. For his own immediate residence Peter also ordered, in the beginning of the year 1703, a small hut to be raised in an adjacent island, which he called the island of St. Petersburg, and from which the new metropolis has taken its name: this hut was low and small; and is still preserved in memory of the sovereign who condescended to dwell in it. Near it was soon afterwards constructed another wooden habitation, but larger and more commodious, in which prince Menzikof resided, and gave audience to foreign ministers. At a small distance was an inn, much frequented by the courtiers and persons of all ranks; to which Peter himself, on Sundays after divine-service, frequently repaired, and would there drink with his suite and those who happened to be present, as spectators of fire-works and other diversions, which were exhibited by his orders.

* Perry's State of Russia, Vol. I. p. 300.

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IV. On the 30th of May, 1706, Peter ordered the ramparts of earth to be demolished, and began the foundation of the new fortress on the same spot. In 1710 Count Golovkin built the first edifice of brick; and in the following year the tzar, with his own hand, laid the foundation of an house, to be erected with the same materials*.

From these small beginnings rose the present metropolis of the Russian empire; and in less than nine years after the first wretched hovels of wood were erected, the seat of empire was transferred from Moscow to Petersburg.

The despotick authority of Peter, his zeal for the improvement of the new capital, and his endeavours to make it resemble the other cities of Europe, will appear from the following orders issued by his command. In 1714 a mandate was put forth, that all buildings upon the Island of St. Petersburg, and in the Admiralty Quarter, particularly those upon the banks of the Neva, should be constructed after the German manner with timber and brick; that each of the nobility and principal merchants should be obliged to have an house in Petersburg; that every large vessel navigating to the city should bring 30 stones, every small one 10, and every peasant's waggon three, towards the construction of the bridges and other public works: that the tops of the houses should be no longer covered with birch-planks, and bark, so dangerous in case of fire, but should be roofed with tiles, or clods of earth. In 1716 a regular plan† for the new city was approved and published by Peter. According to which the principal part of the new metropolis was to be situated in the Vassili Ostrof; and, in imitation of the Dutch towns,

* Journal St. Pet. for 1779.

† The reader will find a delineation of this plan in Perry's State of Russia.

canals were to be cut through the principal streets, and to be lined with avenues of trees. This plan, however, was never carried into execution. Under the empress Anne the imperial residence was removed to the Admiralty Quarter. The nobility soon followed the example of the sovereign; and at present, if we except some of the publick edifices, and the row of houses fronting the Neva, the Vassili Ostrof is the worst part of the city, and alone contains more wooden buildings than all the other quarters. CHAP.
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Succeeding sovereigns have continued to embellish Peterburgh, but none more than the present empress; who may, without exaggeration, be called its second foundress. Notwithstanding, however, all these improvements, it bears every mark of an infant city, and is still, as Mr. Wraxall* justly observes, "only an immense outline, which will require future empresses and almost future ages to complete." The streets in general are broad† and spacious; and three of the principal ones, which meet in a point at the Admiralty, and reach to the extremities of the suburbs, are at least two miles in length. Most of them are paved; but a few are still suffered to remain floored with planks. In several parts of the metropolis, particularly in the Vassili Ostrof, wooden houses and habitations, scarcely superior to common cottages, are blended with the publick buildings; but this motley mixture is far less common than at Moscow, where alone can be formed any idea of an antient Russian city.

The brick houses are ornamented with a white stucco, which has led several travellers to say that they are built with stone; whereas, unless I am greatly mistaken, there are

* Wraxall's Tour, p. 231.

† They are mostly as broad as Oxford-Street: those with canals much broader.

BOOK IV. only two stone structures in all Petersburg, the one is a palace, building by the empress upon the banks of the Neva, called the marble-palace : it is of hewn granite, with marble columns and ornaments ; the other is the church of St. Isaac, constructed with the same materials, but not yet finished.

The mansions of the nobility are many of them vast piles of building, but are not in general upon so large and magnificent a scale as several I observed at Moscow : they are furnished with great cost, and in the same elegant style as at Paris or London. They are situated chiefly on the south-side of the Neva, either in the Admiralty Quarter, or in the suburbs of Livonia and Moscow, which are the finest parts of the city.

The views upon the banks of the Neva exhibit the most grand and lively scenes I ever beheld. That river is in most places broader than the Thames at London : it is also deep, rapid, and as transparent as chrystal ; and its banks are lined on each side with a continued range of handsome buildings. On the north side the fortress, the Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Arts are the most striking objects ; on the opposite side are the Imperial palace, the Admiralty, the mansions of many Russian nobles, and the English line, so called because (a few houses' excepted) the whole row is occupied by the English merchants. In the front of these buildings, on the south side, is the Quay, which stretches for three miles, except where it is interrupted by the Admiralty ; and the Neva, during the whole of that space, has been lately embanked, at the expence of the empress, by a wall parapet and pavement of hewn granite, a most elegant and durable monument of imperial munificence.

Petersburgh,

Petersburgh, although it is more compact than the other CHAP.
III. Russian cities, and has the houses in many streets contiguous to each other, yet still bears a resemblance to the towns of this country, and is built in a very straggling manner. By an order lately issued from government, the city has been enclosed within a rampart, the circumference whereof is 21 versts, or 14 English miles.

The average population of Petersburgh may be collected from the following list of births and deaths during seven years.

Births.			Deaths.		
1771	Males	2459	Males	3137	
	Females	2322	Females	1642	
1772		=4781		=4779	
1773		=4759		=4727	
1774		=5483		=5031	
	Males	2839	Males	2899	
	Females	2598	Females	1559	
1775		=5437		=4458	
1776		=4961		=3107	
	Males	2816	Males	2694	
	Females	2581	Females	1769	
1777		=5397		=4463	
	Natives.		Natives.		
	Males	2717	Males	3117	
	Females	2618	Females	2043	
	Foreigners.	5854	Foreigners.	5660	
	Males	265	Males	265	
	Females	254	Females	235	
Total of birth for 7 years 36,672			Total of deaths 32,165		

Annual Average of births, omitting small fractions 5238
of deaths 4594

By multiplying the births 5238 by 25, the sum is 134,950;
and the deaths 4594 by 26, the sum is 119,444.

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By taking the medium, therefore, between these two sums, we have 126,697 for the number of inhabitants*.

Petersburgh, from its low and marshy situation, is subject to inundations, which have occasionally risen so high as to threaten the town with a total submerſion. Theſe floods are chiefly occaſioned by a weſt or ſouth-weſt wind, which, blowing directly from the gulf, obſtructs the current of the Neva, and cauſes a vaſt accumulation of its waters. On the 16th of November we had nearly perſonal experience of this dreadful calamity: being invited to a maſquerade at the Cadet's in the Vaſſili Oſtrof, on our approach to the bridge, we perceived that a ſtormy weſt wind had already ſo much ſwelled the river as conſiderably to elevate the pontoons; and the tenſion of the bridge was ſo great as to endanger its being broken to pieces. Inſtead, therefore, of repairing to the maſquerade, we returned home, and waited for ſome hours in awful expectation of an immediate deluge. Providentially, however, a ſudden change of wind preſerved Petersburgh from the impending cataſtrophe, and the inhabitants from an almoſt univerſal conſternation, which their recent ſufferings had impreſſed upon their minds. I allude to the flood which overwhelmed the town in the month of September, 1777, and whoſe effects are thus deſcribed: “† In the evening of the 9th, a violent ſtorm of wind blowing at firſt S. W. and afterwards W. raiſed the Neva and its various branches to ſo great an height, that at five in

* Suſſlick eſtimates the population of Petersburgh at 133,196, by multiplying the births with 28; and 132,990 by multiplying the deaths by 26; neither of which numbers differs eſſentially from the average number in the context: he adds, that Petersburgh is the only large town in which

there are more births than deaths. Upon the whole, the population of Petersburgh may be eſtimated in round numbers at 130,000 of ſouls. See Suſſlick Gottliche Orldnung. Vol. III. p. 650.

† Journ. St. Pet. Sept. 1777.

“ the

“ the morning the waters poured over their banks, and suddenly overflowed the town, but more particularly the Vasilii Ostrof and the island of St. Peterburgh. The torrent rose in several streets to the depth of four feet and an half, and overturned, by its rapidity, various buildings and bridges. About seven, the wind shifting to N. W. the flood fell as suddenly ; and at mid-day most of the streets, which in the morning could only be passed in boats, became dry. For a short time the river rose 10 feet 7 inches above its ordinary level *.”

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The opposite divisions of Peterburgh, situated on each side of the Neva, are connected by a bridge on pontoons, which,

* Mr. Kraft, professor of experimental philosophy to the Imperial Academy of Sciences, has written a judicious treatise upon the inundation of the Neva, from which the following observations are extracted. These floods are less alarming than formerly, as the swelling of the river to about six feet above its usual level, which used to overflow the whole town, have no longer any effect, excepting upon the lower parts of Peterburgh ; a circumstance owing to the gradual raising of the ground by buildings and other causes.

Upon tracing the principal inundations, the professor informs us, that the most ancient, of which there is any tradition, happened in 1691, and is mentioned by Weber, from the account of some fishermen inhabiting near Nieschants, a Swedish redoubt upon the Neva, about three miles from the present fortrefs of Peterburgh. At that period the waters usually rose every five years ; and the inhabitants of that district no sooner perceived the particular storms which they had been taught from fatal experience to consider as forerunners of a flood, than they took their hovels to pieces, and, joining the timbers together in the form of rafts, fastened them to the summits

of the highest trees, and repaired to the mountain of Duderof, which is distant six miles from their place of abode, where they waited until the waters subsided.

The highest inundations, excepting the last of 1777, were those of the 1st of November, 1726, when the waters rose 8 feet 2 inches, and on the 2d of October, 1752, when they rose 8 feet 5 inches.

From a long course of observations the professor draws the following conclusion. The highest floods, namely, those which rise about six feet, have generally happened in one of the four last months of the year : no sensible effect is ever produced by rain or snow ; a swell is sometimes occasioned by the accumulation of masses of ice at the mouth of the Neva ; but the principal causes of the overflowing of that river are derived from violent storms and winds blowing S. W. W. or N. W. which usually prevail at the autumnal equinox ; and the height of the waters is always in proportion to the violence and duration of those winds. In a word, the circumstances most liable to promote the overflows of the Neva, are when, at the autumnal equinox, three or four days before or after the full or new moon, that luminary being near her perigæum,

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which, on account of the large masses of ice driven down the stream from the Lake Ladoga, is usually removed* when they first make their appearance; and for a few days, until the river is frozen hard enough to bear carriages, there is no communication between the opposite parts of the town.

The depth of the river seems to render it impossible to build a stone bridge; and even if one could be constructed, it must necessarily be destroyed by the vast shoals of ice, which in the beginning of winter are hurried down the rapid stream of the Neva. In order to remedy this inconvenience, a Russian peasant has projected the sublime plan of throwing a wooden bridge of a single arch across the river, which in its narrowest part is 980 feet in breadth.

The artist has executed a model 98 feet in length, which I examined with great attention, as he kindly explained its proportion and mechanism.

The bridge is upon the same principle with that of Schaffhausen, excepting that the mechanism is more complicated, and that the road is not so level. I shall attempt to describe it by supposing it finished, as that will convey the best idea of the plan. The bridge is roofed at the top, and covered at the sides: it is formed by four frames of timber, two on each side, composed of various beams or trusses, which sup-

port, a violent N. W. wind drives the waters of the Northern Ocean, during the influx of the tide, into the Baltick, and is accompanied, or instantaneously succeeded by a S. W. wind in that sea and the Gulf of Finland. All these circumstances concurred at the inundation of 1777: it happened two days before the autumnal equinox, four before the full moon, two after passing through the perigæum, and by a storm at S. W. which was preceded by strong W. winds in the Northern Ocean, and strong N. winds at the

mouth of the Baltick.

See *Notices et Remarques sur les débordemens de la Neva à St. Peterbourg accompagnées d'une carte représentant la crue et la diminution des eaux, &c.*—In *Nov. Ac. Pet.* for 1777, P. II. p. 47. to which excellent treatise I would refer the curious reader for further information.

* When I was at Peterburgh, the bridge which had been taken away was replaced, and continued during the whole winter.

port the whole machine. The road is not, as is usual, carried over the top of the arch, but is suspended in the middle. CHAP. III.

The following proportions I noted down with the greatest exactness at the time when they were explained to me by the artist.

Length of the abutment on the north end	658 feet.
Span of the arch	980
Length of the abutment on the south end	658
Length of the whole structure, including the abutments	2296
The plane of the road upon its first ascent makes an angle of five degrees with the ordinary surface of the river	
Mean level of the river to the top of the bridge in the center	168
Ditto to the bottom of the bridge in the center	126
Height of the bridge from the bottom to the top in the centre	42
Height from the bottom of the bridge in the center to the road	7
Height from the bottom of ditto to the water	84
Height from the water to the spring of the arch	56

So that there is a difference of 35 feet between the road at the spring of the arch, and the road at the center; in other words, an ascent of 35 feet in half 980, or in the space of 490 feet, which is little more than eight-tenths of an inch to a foot*. The bridge is broadest towards the sides, and diminishes towards the centre.

In the broadest part it is	168 feet.
In the center or narrowest	42
The breadth of the road is	38

The artist informed me, that to complete the bridge would require 49,650 iron nails, 12,908 large trees, 5,500 beams to strengthen them, and that it would cost 300,000 roubles, or £60,000. He speaks of this bold project with the usual warmth of genius; and is perfectly convinced that it would be practicable. I must own that I am of the same opinion,

* The ascent of the road of the bridge at Schaffhausen is barely four-tenths of an inch in a foot.

BOOK though I hazard it with great diffidence. What a noble
 IV. effect would be produced by a bridge striking across the
 Neva, with an arch 980 feet wide, and towering 168 feet
 from the surface of the water. The description of such a
 bridge seems almost chimerical; and yet, upon inspection of
 the model, we become reconciled to the idea. But whether
 the execution of this stupendous work may be deemed possi-
 ble or not, the model itself is worthy of attention, and reflects
 the highest honour on the inventive faculties of that unim-
 proved genius: it is so compactly constructed, and of such
 uniform solidity, that it has supported 3540 pood, or
 127,440 pounds, without having in the least swerved from
 its direction, which I am told is far more, in proportion to its
 size, than the bridge if completed, would have occasion
 to sustain from the pressure of the carriages added to its own
 weight.

The person who projected this plan is a common Russian
 peasant; and, like the Swiss carpenter who built the bridge
 of Schaffhausen*, possessed of but little knowledge in the the-
 ory of mechanicks. This extraordinary genius was appren-
 tice to a shopkeeper at Nishnei Novogorod: opposite to his
 dwelling was a wooden clock, which excited his curiosity.
 By repeated examinations he comprehended the internal
 structure, and, without any assistance, formed one exactly
 similar in its proportion and materials. His success in this
 first essay urged him to undertake the construction of metal
 clocks and watches. The empress, hearing of these won-
 derful exertions of his native genius, took him under her
 protection, and sent him to England; from whence, on ac-

* For the account of the bridge of Schaffhausen, see the Sketches on the State of
 Switzerland. Letter II.

count of the difficulties attending his ignorance of the language, he soon returned to Russia. I saw a repeating watch of his workmanship at the Academy of Sciences: it is about the bigness of an egg; in the inside is represented the tomb of our Saviour, with the stone at the entrance, and the centinels upon duty; suddenly the stone is removed, the centinels fall down, the angels appear, the women enter the sepulchre, and the same chant is heard which is performed on Easter-eve. These are trifling, although curious performances; but the very planning of the bridge was a most sublime conception. This person, whose name is Kulibin, bears the appearance of a Russian peasant; he has a long beard, and wears the common dress of the country. He receives a pension from the empress, and is encouraged to follow the bent of his mechanical genius.

One of the noblest monuments, as my ingenious friend Mr. Wraxall observes, of the gratitude and veneration paid to Peter I. * is the equestrian statue of that monarch in bronze: it is of a Colossal size, and is the work of Monsieur Falconet, the celebrated French statuary, cast at the expence of Catharine II. in honour of her great predecessor, whom she reveres and imitates. It represents that monarch in the attitude of mounting a precipice, the summit of which he has nearly attained. He appears crowned with laurel, in a loose Asiatick vest, and sitting on a housing of bear-skin: his right hand is stretched out as in the act of giving benediction to his people; and his left holds the reins. The design is masterly, and the attitude is bold and spirited. If there be any defect in the figure, it consists in the flat position of the right hand; and, for this reason, the view of the left side

* Wraxall's Tour, p. 224.

BOOK is the most striking, where the whole appearance is graceful
IV. and animated. The horse is rearing upon its hind legs; and its tail, which is full and flowing, slightly touches a bronze serpent, artfully contrived to assist in supporting the vast weight of the statue in due equilibrium. The artist has, in this noble essay of his genius, represented Peter as the legislator of his country, without any allusion to conquest and bloodshed; wisely preferring his civil qualities to his military exploits*. The contrast between the composed tranquillity of Peter (though perhaps not absolutely characteristic) and the fire of the horse, eager to press forwards, is very striking. The simplicity of the inscription corresponds to the sublimity of the design, and is far preferable to a pompous detail of exalted virtues, which the voice of flattery applies to every sovereign without distinction. It is elegantly finished in brass characters; on one side in Latin, and on the opposite in Russian.

PETRO PRIMO †, PETROMU PERVOYU
CATHARINA SECUNDA EKATHERENA VTORAIYA
1782. 1782.

The statue, when I was at Petersburg, was not erected, but stood under a large wooden shed near the Neva,

* Monsieur Falconet has ably refuted the censures urged against his statue on this account. See his Letter to Diderot, in "Pieces written by Mons. Falconet," translated by Mr. Tooke, p. 47. The reader will also find in that work an engraving of the statue. "I have endeavoured," said Monsieur Falconet to Mr. Wraxall, "to catch, as far as possible, the genuine feelings of the Muscovite legislator, and to give him such an expression as himself would have owned. I have not decked his person with emblems of Roman consulage, or placed a marshal's baton in his hand: an antient dress would have been unnatural, and the Russian he wished to abolish. The skin on which he is seated, is emblematical of the nation he refined. Possibly," said M. Falconet, "the

"czar would have asked me why I did not put a sabre into his hand; but, perhaps, he made too great a use of it when alive, and a sculptor ought only to exhibit those parts of a character which reflect honour on it, and rather to draw a veil across the errors and vices which tarnish it. A laboured panegyrick would have been equally injudicious and unnecessary, since history has already performed that office with impartial justice, and held up his name to universal regard; and I must do her present majesty the justice to say, she had taste and discernment enough perfectly to see this, and to prefer the present short inscription to any other which could be composed." Wraxall's Tour, p. 225—227.

† Catharine II. to Peter I.

within

within a few yards of its enormous pedestal. When Falconet had conceived the design of his statue, the base of which was to be formed by an huge rock *, he carefully examined the environs of Petersburg, if, among the detached pieces of granite †, which are scattered about these parts, one could be found of magnitude correspondent to the dimensions of the equestrian figure. After considerable research, he discovered a stupendous mass half buried in the midst of a morass. The expence and difficulty of transporting it were no obstacles to Catharine II. By her order the morass was immediately drained, a road was cut through a forest, and carried over the marshy ground; and the stone, which after it had been somewhat reduced weighed at least 1500 tons, was removed to Petersburg.

This more than Roman work was, in less than six months from the time of its first discovery, accomplished by a windlass, and by means of large friction-balls alternately placed and removed in grooves fixed on each side of the road. In this manner it was drawn, with forty men seated upon its top, about four miles to the banks of the Neva: there it was embarked in a vessel constructed on purpose to receive it, and thus conveyed about the same distance by water to

* "Pour marquer à postérité, d'où cet héros législateur étoit parti, et quels obstacles il avoit surmontés—Description d'une Pierre—pour servir de Piedestal, &c., in Haygold's." *Russland*, V. II. p. 211.

† The pedestal is a reddish granite, in which the micæ are very large and resplendent. This circumstance induced a person, who has published an account of it, and was willing to make a prodigy where there is none, to give the following ridiculous and exaggerated description upon breaking part of it asunder.

* "Ce qui surtout frappa d'étonnement, c'étoit l'intérieur de la pierre. Un coup de foudre l'avoit endommagé d'un côté. On abbattit ce morceau & l'on vit, au lieu de parties homogènes, un assemblage de toutes sortes de pierres fines & précieuses. C'étoient des Cristaux, des Agates, des Grenats, des Topazes, des Cornalines, des Améthystes, qui offroient aux yeux des curieux un spectacle, aussi nouveau que magnifique, & aux physiciens un objet de recherches des plus intéressans." *Ibid.* p. 212.

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the spot where it now stands. When landed at Petersburg it was 42 feet long at the base, 36 at the top, 21 thick, and 17 high; a bulk greatly surpassing in weight the most boasted monuments of Roman grandeur, which, according to the fond admirers of antiquity, would have baffled the skill of modern mechanicks, and were alone sufficient to render conspicuous the reign of the most degenerate emperors.

The pedestal, however, though still of prodigious magnitude, is far from retaining its original dimensions, as, in order to form a proper station for the statue, and to represent an ascent, the summit whereof the horse is endeavouring to attain, its bulk has been necessarily diminished. But I could not observe, without regret, that the artist has been desirous to improve upon nature; and in order to produce a resemblance of an abrupt broken precipice, has been too lavish of the chissel. Near it was a model in plaister, to the shape of which the workmen were fashioning the pedestal. It appeared to me, that in this model the art was too conspicuous; and that the effect would have been far more sublime, if the stone had been left as much as possible in its rude state, a vast unwieldy stupendous mass. And indeed, unless I am greatly mistaken, the pedestal, when finished according to this plan, will have scarcely breadth sufficient to afford a proper base for a statue of such Colossal size*.

* The statue was erected on the pedestal on the 27th of August, 1782. The ceremony was performed with great solemnity, and was accompanied with a solemn inauguration. At the same time the empress issued a proclamation, in which, among other

instances of her clemency, she pardons all criminals under sentence of death; all deserters, who should return to their respective corps within a limited time; and releases all criminals condemned to hard labour, provided they had not been guilty of murder.

Having

Having passed several months in Russia, I shall here throw together such facts and observations as occurred to me concerning the state of the weather, and the effects of the cold in this severe climate. CHAP. III.

During our journey from Moscow to Petersburg in the month of September, we found the weather very changeable, the autumnal rains being extremely frequent and heavy *. The mornings and evenings were extremely cold, and, whenever it did not rain, we generally observed that the grass and trees were covered with a white frost. Upon our arrival at Petersburg on the 29th of September N. S. the winter was not yet set in: in October the weather, for the first twenty days, was the most part rainy; and the mercury, in Fahrenheit's thermometer, was seldom below freezing point, and mostly fluctuated between 32 and 44. The first snow made its appearance in fleet on the 9th, and the following day it came down in flakes and in large quantities: on the 24th the mercury suddenly sunk to 25; but in the ensuing morning, it rose above freezing point, there came a sudden

* In 30 days it rained 24; and the quantity of water which fell at St. Petersburg in the month of September O. S. was equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ English inches in depth.

From accurate observations during fourteen years to ascertain the quantity of rain and snow which fell at St. Petersburg, the result was, that the average annual duration of snowy and rainy weather was equal to 42 times 24 hours, or something less than the ninth part of the year. From a course of ten years observations it appeared, that rain fell during some part of 103 days, and snow during some part of 72, and that if the year was divided into twelve parts, a fourth was fine weather, a third rain, and a fifth snow.

The whole quantity of rain and snow water, taken together, which fell in the

course of a year, was in the following proportion:

January	0,979	Inches.
February	0,979	
March	0,801	
April	1,246	
May	1,335	
June	3,116	
July	2,760	
August	2,671	
September	3,473	
October	2,493	
November	1,513	
December	0,979	
<hr/>		
22,345		

The average quantity of rain which falls in London in the course of a year is equal to 19,241.

thaw,

BOOK thaw, and all the snow disappeared in a few hours. The
IV. summer and winter are not, as in our climate, gradually divided by a spring and autumn of any length, but seem almost to succeed each other.

On the 15th of November the Neva * was entirely frozen, and soon afterwards the Gulf of Finland was covered with ice, and sledges began to pass from Peterburgh to Cronstadt, the road being marked over the surface by rows of trees.

I found, that even during the months of December and January, the weather was extremely changeable, as it shifted in a very sudden manner from a severe frost to a thaw; and the mercury in the thermometer often rose within the course

* The freezing of the Neva is not attended with any peculiarities which distinguish it from other rivers. The following circumstances, which fell under my observation, are extracted from my journal.

Monday morning, Nov. 9. On Saturday the 7th, small pieces, which came from the lake Ladoga, were first observed floating with the stream: the same day in the evening the bridge of boats was removed, as in these cases they collect and would carry it away. Yesterday the pieces of ice were more frequent and massy: to-day they are small floating islands, which almost cover the river; the sides of the Neva are frozen only a few feet from the banks: all the canals are covered with ice, and people are skating upon them.

Nov. 12 and 13. The Neva is frozen above the place where the bridge was flat-

oned by the pieces of ice which have collected and barred the passage: below it the stream is perfectly free from any floating masses, and the river is open for boats, which are continually passing to and fro.

Nov. 13. The bridge of boats is again replaced, as there is no longer any danger of its being carried away by the floating masses of ice; and will continue during the whole winter, a circumstance which has not happened since the foundation of Peterburgh.

Nov. 15. The river about and below the bridge is entirely frozen, and I saw persons walking across it. I am informed that yesterday the ice was strong enough to bear foot passengers; this will convey some idea of the severity of the weather in this climate; as the rapid current was open on the 13th, and the next day was frozen.

Table of the freezing and thawing of the Neva for five successive years, from Professor Kraft's Observations:

	1773.	1774.	1775.	1776.	1777.
April, New Style	$\frac{16}{27}$	April $\frac{21}{28}$	May $\frac{22}{28}$	May $\frac{25}{28}$	May $\frac{30}{31}$
Old Style	$\frac{27}{36}$	May	" $\frac{12}{23}$	$\frac{12}{21}$	Dec. $\frac{26}{27}$
Nov.	$\frac{19}{28}$	$\frac{7}{18}$	" $\frac{12}{23}$	$\frac{12}{21}$	Dec. $\frac{26}{27}$
Open 217 days.	200	204	201	210	

See Nov. Ac. Pet. for 1777. P. II. p. 73.



Sorodanof del.

C. Ruette sculpt.

A RUSSIAN GENTLEMAN in WINTER DRESS.

Published according to Act of Parliament. Jan. 5. 1784. by T. Cadell in the Strand.

of twenty hours from 20 to 34; and sunk again as rapidly in the same space of time. Although I examined the thermometer every day, yet I did not attempt to form a series of regular observations, which I now very much regret. I occasionally, indeed, made a few remarks, which I shall insert in a note, as I find them scattered in my journal; they will tend to confirm the truth of what I have advanced in relation to the change of weather observable at Petersburg, and will serve to contradict those persons who have asserted that as soon as the hard frost commences, the cold continues with uniform severity, and with little variation, during the whole season*.

When the frost was not very severe, namely, when the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer was not below 10, I frequently walked out in a common great-coat. When the cold was more intense, I imitated the dress of the native gentry, and wore, in my daily excursions through the city, a *pelisse*, or large fur cloak, fur boots or shoes, a black velvet

OR

* Nov. 16. To-day a thaw; the thermometer mounted to 40: in the evening the thermometer one morning at — 8, the sharp frost again; the mercury falling to 20, next above freezing point: this winter it

Nov. 23. The thermometer at 4, 5, has not as yet been lower than — 13.

Dec. 3. It has been these few days mostly a thaw and changeable weather.

Dec. 6. The thermometer fell almost suddenly from 33 to 10.

Dec. 11. Thermometer at — 10.

Dec. 14. A sudden thaw which continued the 15th and 16th.

Dec. 17. Thermometer at — 7.

18. Thermometer at — 5, and a fog at the same time.

19. Windy, thaw, thermometer above freezing point.

21. Changeable weather all this week, from sharp frost to sudden thaw.

Jan. 1, 1779. Weather very changeable, the thermometer one morning at — 8, the next above freezing point: this winter it has not as yet been lower than — 13.

Jan. 6. Thermometer at 14.

9. Thermometer at — 7½; the barometer mounted suddenly very high since last night.

10. Early this morning the thermometer at — 23, and at eleven at — 20½. Barometer at 30.6. The smoke of the chimnies was pressed down to the ground.

11. Thermometer at — 28, according to my own observation, at ten in the morning: but earlier the mercury had sunk to — 31½ or 63! below freezing point.

15. Thermometer, since the 11th, rose gradually; on the 12th in the morning it stood at — 13; from thence it fell to — 10, 15; and to-day it is above freezing point.

Metecological

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or fur bonnet, that prevented the frost from nipping my ears,

Meteorological Journal during four months, O. S. from the Observations in the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, 1778.

Oct.	1 cloudy, snow in great quantity	16 clear
	2 cloudy, snow	17
	3 cloudy, snow	18 snow
	4 partly clear, partly snow	19 cloudy
	5 cloudy, snow, windy W.	20 cloudy, snow
	6 snow	21 foggy, rain
	7 cloudy, snow and rain	22 cloudy, rain
	8	23
	9 snow, windy S. W.	24
	10 stormy S. W.	25 clear
	11 rain	26 clear
	12 cloudy, snow, windy S.	27 clear
	13 windy N. W.	28 cloudy
	14 cloudy, violent rain, stormy S.	29 cloudy, snow
	15 cloudy, snow, windy S. W.	30
		31 cloudy, snow
Nov.	1 windy S. E. snow	Nov. 16 clearish
	2 windy S. E. cloudy	17 windy S. E. cloudy
	3 windy S. E. cloudy, snow	18 cloudy, rain
	4 windy S. cloudy, snow in great quant.	19 windy S. E. cloudy, snow
	5 cloudy, snow in great quantity	20 cloudy, snow
	6 cloudy, snow in great quantity	21 cloudy, snow
	7 cloudy, snow	22 cloudy, foggy, snow
	8 cloudy, snow	23 cloudy
	9 windy N. W.	24 cloudy, foggy
	10 windy N. W. snow	25 clearish
	11 cloudy, snow	26 windy S. E. clearish
	12 windy S. E. clearish, snow	27 stormy S. cloudy
	13 cloudy, stormy S. W. rain, snow	28 cloudy, snow
	14 cloudy	29 windy 29 N. clearish
	15 clearish	30 windy 30 N. W. clearish
Dec.	1 cloudy, snow, stormy S. W.	Dec. 16 clear, stormy W.
	2 cloudy, snow	17 rain, snow
	3 cloudy, rain, snow	18 rain, snow, windy S.
	4 cloudy	19 snow, windy S.
	5 cloudy, much snow, windy N. E.	20 much snow, windy S. E.
	6 windy N. W.	21 cloudy
	7 clear	22 windy N. E.
	8 cloudy, rain, snow, stormy S. W.	23 snow, windy W.
	wind shifted to E.	24 cloudy, snow
	9 cloudy, stormy W.	25 cloudy, snow
	10 cloudy, foggy, stormy W.	26 snow, stormy S. E.
	11 windy W.	27 clear
	12 snow, windy N. W.	28
	13 windy N. W.	29 cloudy, snow, windy N. W.
	14 windy N. W.	30 clear, snow, windy W.
	15	31 much snow, windy W.

ears, the part which I found the most liable to be affected. CHAP. III.
 During three days, namely, on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of January, the frost was nearly as intense* as it had ever been felt at Petersburg; the mercury in the thermometer falling at one time to 63 below freezing point, or — 31. This cold, however, did not detain me at home, but I walked out, as usual, with no other precaution than my *pelisse*, boots, and cap, and found it by no means unpleasant, as the sun shone with great brightness. As I traversed the city on the morning of the 12th, I observed several persons whose faces had been bitten by the frost: their cheeks had large scars, and appeared as if they had been singed with an hot iron. As I was walking with an English gentleman, who, instead of a fur cap, had put on a common hat, his ears were suddenly frozen: he felt no pain, and would not have perceived it for some time, if a Russian, in passing by, had not informed him of it†, and assisted him in rubbing the part affected with snow, by which means it was instantly

Jan. 1 snow, stormy S. W.
 2 snow
 3 foggy, snow
 4 snow
 5 cloudy, snow, windy S. W.
 6 windy N.
 7 snow, windy N.
 8 clear
 9 foggy, clear
 10 clear
 11 clear, foggy
 12 foggy
 13 cloudy, windy S.
 14 cloudy, snow
 15 cloudy, windy S. W.

Jan. 16 cloudy, stormy S. W.
 17 cloudy, snow, windy S. W.
 18 cloudy, foggy
 19 cloudy, snow, windy W.
 20 cloudy, snow, stormy S. W.
 21 cloudy, snow, windy S. W.
 22 snow
 23 foggy
 24 cloudy, snow
 25 stormy W.
 26 cloudy, windy W.
 27 snow
 28
 29 foggy, windy W.
 30 stormy N. W.
 31 clear

* The winter in which professor Braun congealed quicksilver, the cold was so intense, that De Lisle's Thermometer sunk to 204 = in Fahrenheit's to — 33, or 65 be-

low freezing point.

† The part frozen always turns quite white, a symptom well known, and immediately perceived by the Russians.

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recovered. This or friction with flannel is the usual remedy; but should the person in that state approach the fire, or dip the part in warm water, it immediately mortifies and drops off.

The common people continued at their work as usual, and the drivers plied in the streets with their sledges seemingly unaffected by the frost; their beards were incrusted with clotted ice, and the horses were covered with icicles. The people did not (even during this extreme cold) add to their ordinary cloathing, which is at all times well calculated for the severities of their climate. They are careful in preserving their extremities against the cold, by covering their legs, hands, and head with furs. Their upper garment of sheep-skin, with the wool turned inward, is tied round the waist with a sash, but their neck is quite bare, and their breast only covered with a coarse shirt. These parts, however, are well guarded by their beard, which is, for that reason, of great use in this country. I was greatly surprized with observing, that even at this time several women, whose dress differs but little from that of the men, were engaged in washing upon the Neva or on the canals. They cut holes in the ice with an hatchet, dipped their linen into the water with their bare hands, and then beat it with flat sticks. During this operation the ice continually formed again, and they were constantly employed in clearing it away. Many of them passed two hours without intermission at this work, when the thermometer was at 60 below freezing point; a circumstance which proves how the human body may be brought to endure all extremes.

It sometimes happens that coachmen or servants, while they are waiting for their masters, are frozen to death. In order to prevent as much as possible these dreadful accidents,



Scorodomof del.

B. Deemar sculpit.

A RUSSIAN in a WINTER DRESS.

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great fires of whole trees, piled one upon another, are kindled in the court-yard of the palace, and the most frequented parts of the town. As the flames blazed above the tops of the houses, and cast a glare to a considerable distance, I was frequently much amused by contemplating the picturesque groups of Russians, with their Asiatic dress and long beards, assembled round the fire. The centinels upon duty, having no beards, which are of great use to protect the glands of the throat, generally tie handkerchiefs under their chins *, and cover their ears with small cases of flannel.

CHAP.
III.

Nothing can be more lively and diversified than the winter scenes upon the Neva; and scarcely a day passed that I did not take my morning walk, or drive in a sledge upon that river. Many carriages and sledges, and numberless foot passengers perpetually crossing it, afford a constant succession of moving objects; and the ice is also covered with different groups of people, dispersed or gathered together, and variously employed as their fancy leads them. In one part there are several long areas railed off for the purpose of skating; a little further is an enclosure, wherein a nobleman is training his horses, and teaching them the various evolutions of the manage. In another part the croud are spectators of what is called a sledge race. The course is an oblong space about the length of a mile, and sufficiently broad to turn the carriage. It can hardly be denominated a race, for there is only a single sledge drawn by two horses, and the whole art of the driver consists in making the shaft-horse trot as fast as he can, while the other is pushed into a gallop.

* The women use also this precaution.

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The ice-hills are exceedingly common, and afford a perpetual fund of amusement to the populace; they are constructed in the following manner. A scaffolding is raised upon the river about thirty feet in height, with a landing place on the top, the ascent to which is by a ladder. From this summit a sloping plain of boards, about four yards broad and thirty long, descends to the superficies of the river: it is supported by strong poles gradually decreasing in height, and its sides are defended by a parapet of planks. Upon these boards are laid square masses of ice about four inches thick, which being first smoothed with the axe and laid close to each other, are then sprinkled with water: by these means they coalesce, and, adhering to the boards, immediately form an inclined plain of pure ice. From the bottom of this plain the snow is cleared away for the length of 200 yards and the breadth of four, upon the level bed of the river; and the sides of this course, as well as the sides and top of the scaffolding, are ornamented with firs and pines. Each person, being provided with a sledge*, mounts the ladder; and, having obtained the summit, he seats himself upon his sledge at the upper extremity of the inclined plain, down which he suffers it to glide with considerable rapidity, poising it as he goes down; when the velocity, acquired by the descent, carries it above 100 yards upon the level ice of the river. At the end of this course, there is usually a similar ice-hill, nearly parallel to the former, which begins where the other ends; so that the person immediately mounts again, and, in the same manner, glides down the other inclined plain of ice. This diversion he repeats as often as he pleases. I have frequently stood for above an hour at the

* Something like a butcher's tray, as Dr. King justly observes in his ingenious pamphlet on the effects of cold in Russia.

bottom of these ice-hills, observing the sledges following each other with inconceivable rapidity ; but I never had the courage myself to try the experiment. The only difficulty consists in steering and poising the sledge as it is hurried down the inclined plain ; for if the person who sits upon it is not steady, but totters either through inadvertence or fear, he is liable to be overturned, and runs no small risk of breaking his bones, if not his neck. And, as one failure might have proved fatal, I contented myself with seeing others engaged in the diversion without partaking of it myself. The boys also are continually employed in skating down these hills : they glide chiefly upon one skate, as they are able to poise themselves better upon one leg than upon two. These ice-hills exhibit a pleasing appearance upon the river, as well from the trees with which they are ornamented, as from the moving objects which, at particular times of the day, are constantly descending without intermission.

The market upon the Neva is too remarkable to be omitted. At the conclusion of the long fast which closes on the 24th of December, O. S. the Russians lay-in their provisions for the remaining part of the winter. For this purpose an annual market, which lasts three days, is held upon the river near the fortress. A long street, above a mile in length, was lined on each side with an immense store of provisions, sufficient for the supply of the capital for the next three months. Many thousand raw carcasses of oxen, sheep, hogs, pigs, together with geese, fowls, and every species of frozen food, were exposed for sale. The larger quadrupeds were grouped in various circles upright, their hind legs fixed in the snow, with their heads and fore legs turned towards each other. These towered above the rest, and occupied the hindmost row ; next to them succeeded a regular series

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series of animals, descending gradually to the smallest, intermixed with poultry and game hanging in festoons, and garnished with heaps of fish, butter, and eggs.

I soon perceived that there were no laws for the prohibition of felling game in this country, from the profusion of that article, particularly of partridges, pheasants, moorfowl, and cocks of the wood. I observed also the truth of what has been frequently asserted, that many of the birds, as well as several animals, in these northern regions, become white in winter, many hundred black cocks being changed to that colour; and some, which had been taken before they had completed their *metamorphosis*, exhibited a variegated mixture of black and white plumage.

The most distant quarters helped to supply this vast store of provisions; and the finest veal had been sent by land-carriage as far as from Archangel, which is situated at the distance of 830 miles from Peterburgh; yet every species of food is surprizingly cheap: beef was sold at 1*d.* the Russian pound*, pork at five farthings, and mutton at 1½*d.*; a goose for 1*d.* and a pig for 8*d.* and all other articles as cheap in proportion. In order to render this frozen food fit for dressing, it is first thawed in cold water.

* A Russian pound contains 14 ounces and ½.

C H A P. IV.

Presentation to the empress.—Court.—Balls.—Masquerades.—Publick entertainments.—Orders of knightbood.—Account of the palace called the Hermitage.—Distribution of the Empresses time.—Russian nobility.—Their hospitality.—Politeness.—Assemblies.—English merchants.—Club.

ON the first of October, in the morning, between eleven CHAP
and twelve, we attended our minister, Sir James Harris, IV.
to the drawing room, impatient to behold Catharine II. It
was luckily the name-day, or, as we term it, the birth-
day of the Great-duke, in honour of whom a most brilliant
court was assembled. At the entrance into the drawing
room stood two centinels of the foot-guards: their uniform
was a green coat, with a red cuff and cape, and white wait-
coat and breeches; they had silver helmets fastened under
the chin with silver clasps, and ornamented with an ample
plume of red, yellow, black, and white feathers. Within the
drawing room, at the doors of the passage leading to her
majesty's apartments, were two foldiers of the knights body-
guard; a corps perhaps more sumptuously accoutred than
any in Europe. They wore casques, like those of the antients,
with a rich plumage of black feathers, and their whole dress
was in the same style: chains and broad plates of solid silver
were braided over their uniforms, so as to bear the appear-
ance of a rich coat of mail; and their boots were richly or-
namented with the same metal.

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In the drawing room we found a numerous assembly of foreign ministers, Russian nobility, and officers in their different uniforms, waiting the arrival of the empress, who was attending divine service in the chapel of the palace, whither we also repaired. Amid a prodigious concourse of nobles, I observed beyond the foremost the empress standing by herself behind a railing, the only distinction by which her place was marked. Immediately next to her stood the great-duke and duchess; and behind an indiscriminate throng of courtiers. The empress bowed repeatedly, and frequently crossed herself, according to the forms used in the Greek church, with great expressions of devotion. Before the conclusion of the service we returned to the drawing room, and took our station near the door, in order to be presented at her majesty's entrance. At length, a little before twelve, the chief officers of the household, the mistress of the robes, the maids of honour, and other ladies of the bed chamber, advancing two by two in a long train, announced the approach of their sovereign. Her majesty came forward with a slow and solemn pace, walking with great pomp, holding her head very high, and perpetually bowing to the right and to the left as she passed along. She stopped a little way within the entrance of the drawing room, and spoke with great affability to the foreign ministers while they kissed her hand. She then advanced a few steps, and we were singly presented by the vice-chancellor Count Osterman, and had the honour of kissing her majesty's hand. The empress wore, according to her usual custom, a Russian dress, namely, a robe with a short train, and a vest with sleeves reaching to the wrist, like a Polonaise; the vest was of gold brocade, and the robe was of light green silk; her hair was dressed low, and lightly sprinkled with powder: she wore a cap set thick



CATHARINE
EMPRESS



THE SECOND,
OF RUSSIA.

Bornon Pins! Russia

Châ. Kretzsch. Sculp. London

London. Published Dec. 10. 1788 for T. Cadell, Bookseller, Strand.

thick with diamonds, and had a great deal of rouge. Her person, though rather below the middle size, is majestic, and her countenance, particularly when she speaks, expresses both dignity and sweetness. She walked slowly through the drawing room to her apartment, and entered alone. The great-duke and duchess followed the empress to the door, and then retired to their own drawing room, where they had a levee ; but, as we had not yet been presented to them at a private audience, we could not, according to the etiquette of the Russian court, follow them. The great-duchess leaned upon the arm of his imperial highness ; and they both inclined their heads on either side to the company as they passed along the line which was formed for them.

In the afternoon, about six o'clock, we repaired to a ball at court. The private apartments of the empress, as well as those in which she holds her court, are on the third story, and the whole suite is remarkably grand and splendid. We found the company assembled in the anti-chamber, who, as soon as the great-duke and duchess made their appearance, all entered a spacious ball-room.

The great-duke opened the ball by walking a minuet with his consort ; at the end of which his imperial highness handed out a lady, and the great-duchess a gentleman, with whom they each performed a second minuet at the same time. They afterwards successively conferred this honour in the same manner upon many of the principal nobility, while several other couples were dancing minuets in different parts of the circle : the minuets were succeeded by Polish dances ; and these were followed by English country-dances. In the midst of the latter the empress entered the room : the

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IV. was more richly apparelled than in the morning, and bore upon her head a small crown of diamonds.

Upon her majesty's appearance the ball was instantly suspended; while the great-duke and duchess, and the most considerable persons who were present, hastened to pay their respects to their sovereign: Catharine, having addressed a few words to some of the principal nobility, ascended a kind of elevated seat; when, the dancing being again resumed, she, after a short time, withdrew into an inner apartment. We, in company with several courtiers, threw ourselves into her majesty's suite, and formed a circle round a table, at which she had sat down to cards. Her party consisted of the Duchess of Courland, Countess Bruce, Sir James Harris, Prince Potemkin, Marshal Rosomouski, Count Panin, Prince Repnin, and Count Ivan Tchernichef. The game was Macao; the pieces in circulation were imperials*; and a player might win or lose two or three hundred pounds.

In the course of the evening the great-duke and duchess presented themselves before the empress, and stood by the table for about a quarter of an hour, during which time her majesty occasionally entered into conversation with them. The empress seemed to pay very little attention to the cards, conversed familiarly and frequently with great vivacity, as well with the party at play, as with the persons of rank standing near her. About ten her majesty retired, and soon after the ball concluded.

On the 6th we had the honour of being presented at a private audience to the great-duke and duchess; both of whom conversed with us in the most affable and condescending manner: according to the etiquette of this court, we kissed her imperial highnesses hand.

* An imperial = £1. 7s.

There is a drawing room at court every Sunday morning, about twelve o'clock, and on other particular festivals, at which the embassadors are usually present, and which all foreign gentlemen, who have been once presented, are permitted to attend: the ceremony of kissing the empress's hand is repeated every court day by foreigners in the presence chamber, and by the Russians in another apartment: the latter bend their knee on this occasion; an expression of homage not exacted from the former. No ladies, excepting those of the empress's household, make their appearance at the morning levees.

On every court day the great-duke and duchess have also their separate levees at their own apartments in the palace. Upon particular occasions, such as her own and the empress's birth day, &c. foreigners have the honour of kissing her imperial highness's hand; but upon common days that ceremony is omitted.

In the evening of a court day there is always a ball at the palace, which begins between six and seven. At that time the foreign ladies kiss the empress's hand, who salutes them in return on the cheek. Her majesty, unless she is indisposed, generally makes her appearance about seven; and, if the assembly is not very numerous, plays at Macao in the ball-room; and the great-duke and duchess, after they have danced, sit down to whist. Their highnesses, after a short interval, rise, approach the empress's table, pay their respects, and then return to their game. When the ball happens to be crowded, the empress forms her party, as I have before-mentioned, in an adjoining room, which is open to all persons who have once been presented.

The richness and splendour of the Russian court surpasses all the ideas which the most elaborate descriptions can sug-

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gest. It retains many traces of its antient Asiatick pomp, blended with European refinement. An immense retinue of courtiers always preceded and followed the empress; the costliness and glare of their apparel, and a profusion of precious stones, created a splendour, of which the magnificence of other courts can give us only a faint idea. The court-dress of the men is in the French fashion: that of the ladies is a gown and petticoat, with a small hoop; the gown has long hanging-sleeves and a short train, and is of a different colour from the petticoat. The ladies wore, according to the fashion of the winter of 1777 at Paris and London, very lofty head-dresses, and were not sparing in the use of rouge. Amid the several articles of sumptuousness which distinguish the Russian nobility, there is none perhaps more calculated to strike a foreigner than the profusion of diamonds and other precious stones, which sparkle in every part of their dress. In most other European countries these costly ornaments are (excepting among a few of the richest and principal nobles) almost entirely appropriated to the ladies; but in this the men vie with the fair sex in the use of them. Many of the nobility were almost covered with diamonds; their buttons, buckles, hilts of swords, and epaulets, were composed of this valuable material; their hats were frequently embroidered, if I may use the expression, with several rows of them; and a diamond-star upon the coat was scarcely a distinction. This passion for jewels seems to pervade the lower ranks of people, for even private families abound with them; and the wife of a common Russian burgher will appear with a head-dress or girdle of pearls, and other precious stones, to the value of two or three hundred pounds.

After this general and particular description of the court of Russia, it would be tedious to enumerate every particular
time

time we attended the drawing room. I shall therefore only dwell upon some days when the solemnity of the occasion added some variety to the general sameness which characterises a court. CHAP.
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The empress, in days of high ceremony, generally wears a crown of diamonds of immense value, and appears with the ribbands of the order of St. Andrew and Merit, flung both over the same shoulder, with the collars of those orders, and the two stars emblazoned one above the other upon her vest.

On certain anniversaries the empress dines in public; two of these days occurred in the course of our stay at Petersburg. The 2d of December being the feast of the Somohilof regiment of guards, her majesty, who as sovereign is colonel of the corps, gave, according to annual custom, a grand entertainment to the officers. Being desirous to be present, we repaired to court at twelve. Her majesty was dressed in the uniform of the regiment, which is green trimmed with gold lace, made in the form of a lady's riding habit. As soon as all the officers of the regiment had kissed her hand, a salver of wine was brought in by one of the lords in waiting, and the empress presented a glass to each officer, who received it from her hands, and, after a low obeisance, drank it off. At the conclusion of this ceremony her majesty led the way, about one o'clock, into an adjoining apartment, in which a sumptuous dinner was spread: she took her place in the middle of the table; and the officers were ranged on each side according to their respective ranks. The empress helped the soup herself, and paid the greatest attention to her guests during the whole repast, which lasted about an hour, when her majesty rose from table and withdrew.

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On a subsequent occasion we attended another entertainment, given by the empress to the knights of the order of St. Andrew. Her majesty had on a robe of green velvet, lined and faced with ermine, and a diamond collar of the order. The dress of the knights was splendid, but exceedingly gaudy and inelegant. They wore a green velvet robe, lined with silver brocade, a coat also of silver brocade, waistcoat and breeches of gold stuff, red silk stockings, a hat *à la Henry IV.* ornamented with a plume of feathers, and interspersed with diamonds. As the order of St. Andrew is the most honourable in this country, it is confined to a few persons of the first rank and consequence; and there were only twelve of them at Peterburgh who sat down to dinner with the empress; these were Prince Potemkin, Prince Orlof, Marshal Galitzin, Counts Alexèy Orlof, Panin, Rosomoufki, Ivan Tchernichef, Voronzof, Alexander and Leon Nariskin, Munich, and Mr. de Betzkoi. The empress before dinner, as on the former occasion, presented each knight with a glass of wine: at the table she was distinguished by a chair ornamented with the arms of Russia, and presided with her usual dignity and condescension. The foreign ministers and a splendid train of courtiers stood spectators of the entertainment, and many of them were occasionally noticed by the empress.

The order of St. Andrew, or the Blue Ribband, the first ever known in this country, was instituted by Peter I. in the year 1698, soon after his return from his first expedition into foreign countries*.

That of St. Alexander Nevski, or the Red Ribband, was created by the same sovereign, but never conferred until the reign of Catharine I. in 1725†.

* Weber's Ver. Russ. Part III. p. 161.

† Ibid. p. 38.

The order of St. Anne of Holstein was instituted, in 1735, ^{CHAP. IV.} by Charles Frederick duke of Holstein, in memory of his wife Anne daughter of Peter the Great, and introduced into Russia by her son Peter III. It is in the disposal of the great-duke as sovereign of Holstein. The knights wear a red ribband bordered with yellow.

The military order of St. George, called also the order of Merit, and which has the precedence over that of St. Anne, was created by the present empress in 1769. It is appropriated to persons serving by land or by sea, and is never bestowed in time of peace. The knights wear a ribband with black and orange stripes.

This order is divided into four classes ;

The knights of the first class, called the Great Cross, wear the ribband over the right shoulder, and the star upon the left side. Each receives an annual salary of 700 roubles = £140.

The knights of the second class wear the star upon their left breast, the ribband with the cross pendent round their neck. Each receives 400 roubles = £80 *per ann.*

The knights of the third class wear the small cross pendent round their neck. Each receives 200 roubles, or £40 *per ann.* This class admits 50.

The knights of the fourth class wear the small cross fastened by a ribband to the button-hole like the French Croix de St. Louis. Each receives 100 roubles, or £20 *per ann.*

The fund of this order, assigned by the empress for the payment of their salaries and other expences, is 40,000 roubles = £8,000 *per ann.* Of this 1680 is destined for the first class ; and 2000 for each of the remaining three.

The number of knights is unlimited. In 1778 the first class, which is confined to commanders in chief, contained

only

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only four; namely, Marshal Romanzof, for his victories over the Turks; Count Alexèy Orlof, for burning the Turkish fleet at Tchefner; Count Panin, for the taking of Bender; and Prince Dolgorucki, for his conquests in the Crimea.

The second class comprised only eight knights: the third 48; and the fourth 237.

No person can obtain this order without having performed some gallant exploit, or having served with credit in the rank of officer 25 years by land, or 18 by sea*.

There is also the order of St. Catharine, appropriated to the ladies; it was instituted in 1714 by Peter, in honour of his wife Catharine. The motto of "Love and fidelity" was intended to commemorate the display of those virtues in her behaviour on the banks of the Pruth.

This order is extremely honourable, as, beside the empress, the great-dutchess, and a few foreign princesses, only five Russian ladies were decorated with it.

The order of St. Andrew is the first and most honourable of these, which, beside the sovereign princes and foreigners, comprised, in 1778, 26 Russians; that of St. Alexander Nevski 109; and that of St. Anne 208. The empress may also be said to have the disposal of the Polish orders of the White Eagle and of St. Stanislaus.

Since our departure from Russia her majesty instituted, on the 4th of October, 1782, a new order, called St. Volodimir, in favour of those who serve in civil employments; and it is nearly on the same footing as that of St. George with respect to the salaries annexed to the different classes. There are to be ten great crosses, twenty of the second class, thirty of the third, and sixty of the fourth, beside a fifth for those who have served 35 years, which gives them a right to wear it.

* See Ukase ueber die Stiftung des St. Georg's-Ordens, in Schmidts Beytr. gc.

Two or three times in the winter there are masquerades at court, to which persons of all ranks are admitted. At one of these entertainments which we attended, about eight thousand tickets were distributed; and from the great concourse I should suppose that number to have been actually present. A magnificent suite of twenty apartments were opened on this occasion, all handsomely illuminated. One of these apartments, a large oblong room, the same in which the common balls at court are held, had a space in the middle enclosed with a low railing, appropriated to the nobility who danced. A most elegant saloon of an oval form, called the great-hall of Apollo, nearly as big as the rotunda at Ranelagh, but without any support in the middle, was allotted for the dances of the burghers, and other persons, who had not been presented at court. The remaining rooms, in which tea and other refreshments were served, were filled with card-tables, and crowded with persons continually passing and re-passing. All the company had on their masks, or took them off at their pleasure. The nobles in general wore dominos; the natives of inferior rank appeared in their own provincial clothes, embellished, perhaps, with a few occasional ornaments. An exhibition of the several dresses actually used by the different inhabitants of the Russian empire, afforded a greater variety of motley figures than the wildest fancy ever invented in the masquerades of other countries. Several merchants wives were decked with large quantities of valuable pearls, many of which were split in halves for the purpose of making more show.

About seven the empress made her appearance at the head of a superb *quadrille*, consisting of eight ladies led by as many gentlemen. Her majesty and the other ladies of

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this select band were most sumptuously apparelled in Greek habits; and the gentlemen were accoutred in the Roman military garb, their helmets richly studded with diamonds: among the ladies I particularly distinguished the Duchesses of Courland, Princess Repnin, and Countess Bruce. Among the gentlemen, Prince Potemkin, Marshal Rossmoufski, and Count Ivan Tchernichef. The empress led the way, leaning upon the arm of Marshal Rossmoufski, and, passing in great state through the several apartments, walked two or three times round the hall of Apollo, and then sat down to cards in one of the adjoining rooms; the company flocked thither in crowds without distinction, and arranged themselves as they could find admittance round the table at a respectful distance. The empress withdrew as usual before eleven.

A few days before our departure from Peterburgh, Baron Nolken, minister from the court of Stockholm, gave a masquerade and ball on the birth of a son to the present king of Sweden, which the empress, great-duke and duchess, honoured with their presence. Five hundred persons of the nobility were invited, together with the ambassadors, and other foreigners who had been presented at court. The ball began at seven: the great-duke and duchess first made their appearance with a small suite, and soon afterwards her imperial majesty arrived at the head of a *quadrille*, consisting of nearly the same persons as at that lately described at court. Madame Nolken conducted her majesty and her party through the ball-room to an inner apartment, where a rich canopy was erected for the occasion, under which she sat down to Macao. At nine a small table was spread, with little ceremony, for the empress and her *quadrille*, in the same room where they were engaged at cards. Her majesty,

who

who never sups, took nothing but a piece of bread and a glass of wine. At the same time a most splendid entertainment was served in a large saloon to the great-duke and dutchess and the rest of the company. Their imperial highnesses were seated at a central table, with a party of about thirty persons; and the remaining gentlemen and ladies were distributed at different tables, which ran round the sides of the room. The cheerfulness and complacency of the great-duke and dutchess, the attention and politeness of Baron Nolken and his lady, diffused an universal gaiety throughout the assembly, and rendered the entertainment as agreeable as it was splendid.

A separate edifice of brick stuccoed white, called the Hermitage, communicates with the palace by means of a covered gallery. It takes its appellation from its being the scene of imperial retirement, but bears no other resemblance to an hermitage except in its name, the apartments being extremely spacious, and decorated in a superb style of regal magnificence. To this favourite spot the empress usually repairs for an hour or two every day; and on a Thursday evening she gives a private ball and supper to the principal persons who form her court; foreign ministers and foreign noblemen being seldom invited. At this entertainment all ceremony is said to be banished, as far as is consistent with that respect which is involuntarily paid to a great sovereign. The attendance of servants is excluded, while the supper and various refreshments are presented on small tables, which emerge through trap doors. Many directions for the regulation of this select society are disposed in the various apartments: the meaning of those written in the Russian

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BOOK IV. tongue was explained to me by a gentleman of the company, and their general tendency was to encourage freedom from etiquette, and to inculcate the most unrestrained ease of behaviour. One written in the French language I comprehended and retained. “*Assayez vous ou vous voulez, et quand il vous plaira, sans qu’on le repete mille fois **.”

This hermitage contains a numerous assemblage of pictures, chiefly purchased by her present majesty. Its principal ornament was the celebrated collection of Croizat, which devolved by heritage to the Baron de Thieres, upon whose death the empress purchased it from his heirs. The Houghton collection, the loss of which every lover of the arts in England must sincerely regret, will form a most valuable accession.

A winter and summer garden, comprised within the site of the building, are singular curiosities, and such as do not, perhaps, occur in any other palace in Europe. The summer garden, in the true Asiatick style, occupies the whole level top of the edifice: at this season of the year it was entirely buried under the snow, which prevented our viewing it. The winter-garden is entirely roofed and surrounded with glass frames: it is an high and spacious hot-house, laid out in gravel walks, ornamented with parterres of flowers, orange trees and other shrubs, and peopled with several birds of sundry sorts and various climates, which flitted from tree to tree. The whole exhibited a pleasing effect, and was the more delightful as being contrasted with the dismal and dreary season of the year.

The ordinary distribution of the empresses time at Peterburgh, as far as I could collect from inquiries which I had

* Sit down where you chuse and when you please, without its being repeated to you a thousand times.

many opportunities of making, as it concerns so great a princeſs, cannot be unacceptable to the reader. CHAP.
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Her majeſty uſually riſes about fix, and is engaged till eight or nine in publick buſineſs with her ſecretary. At ten ſhe generally begins her toilet; and while her hair is dreſſing, the miniſters of ſtate, and her aid-de-camps in waiting, pay their reſpects and receive their orders. Being dreſſed about eleven, ſhe ſends for her grand-children the young princes Alexander and Conſtantine, or viſits them in their own apartment. Before dinner ſhe receives a viſit from the great-duke and dutcheſs: and ſits down to table rather before one. She has always company at dinner, uſually about nine perſons, conſiſting of the generals and lords in waiting, a lady of the bed chamber, a maid of honour, and two or three of the Ruſſian nobility, whom ſhe invites. Their imperial highneſſes dine with her three times in the week, on which days the party is encreaſed to eighteen perſons. The lord of the bed chamber in waiting, who always ſits oppoſite to the empreſs, carves one diſh and preſents it to her; an attention, which, after having once politely accepted, ſhe afterwards diſpenſes with. Her majeſty is remarkably temperate, and is ſeldom at table more than an hour. From thence ſhe retires to her own apartment; and about three frequently repairs to her library in the Hermitage. At five, ſhe goes to the theatre*, or to a private concert; and, when there is no court in the evening, has a private party at cards. She ſeldom ſups, generally retires at half paſt ten, and is uſually in bed before eleven.

The great-duke is extremely fond of the manage; and, two or three times in the week, takes the diverſion of a tour-

* An Italian opera, a ſet of Ruſſian and another of French players were, in 1778, maintained at her majeſty's expence, at which the ſpectators were admitted gratis.

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nament, which is thus described in my friend Colonel Floyd's
 Journal : " Count Orlof, having obtained the great-duke's
 " permission for me to attend the manage of the court, I
 " accordingly went this morning to see a tournament. His
 " imperial highness and eleven of his nobles, dressed in uni-
 " forms of buff and gold, and armed with a lance, sword,
 " and pistols, were assembled by nine o'clock, although it
 " was as yet dusk. The great-duke drew them up by pairs,
 " and upon the sound of the trumpet, himself and the
 " knights immediately mounted their horses, and retired in
 " due order without the rails. Two rings were suspended on
 " opposite sides of the walls on each side of the manage ;
 " at each corner was a moor's head of pasteboard, or an
 " apple fixed upon a pole, and between them two heads
 " with a squib in their mouths. These were all placed upon
 " stands almost as high as a man on horse-back, and at some
 " paces from the wall ; at each end was also an helmet of
 " pasteboard raised upon a stand about a foot from the
 " ground, and about four from the wall. The two judges,
 " with Lord Herbert and myself, who were the only spectators,
 " took our station on the outside the rail. Upon a second
 " signal from the trumpet two knights entered at opposite
 " ends of the manage. A band of musick played a quick
 " air, while each knight, galloping his horse to the right,
 " and making a volt, saluted with their lances at the same
 " time ; then, continuing their course round the manage,
 " each ran with his lance, first at the rings suspended from
 " the walls, and next at the moor's heads ; after which they
 " delivered their lances, as they went on, to their servants on
 " foot. The knights then drew their pistols, and each
 " making a second volt round the other heads, discharged
 " them.

“ them in order to set fire to the squib; then, pursuing
 “ their course round the manage, they drew their swords,
 “ and, making a third volt round the apple, endeavoured
 “ to strike it to the ground. They finished their career
 “ by stooping down and, as they galloped by, thrusting their
 “ swords through the helmets; then poising them in the air,
 “ they met in the middle, and, riding towards the judge,
 “ saluted him, related the attempts in which they had suc-
 “ ceeded, and demanded their prizes: the prize was about
 “ four shillings for each atchievement, and an equal value
 “ was paid for every failure.

“ The whole was performed on a continued gallop, and
 “ always to the right. In running at the ring, the head, or
 “ the helmet, it is esteemed honourable to put the horse into
 “ full career, which encreases the difficulty. The judge
 “ having bestowed the rewards, or taken the forfeits, ordered
 “ the two knights to retire. The trumpet again sounding,
 “ two others made their appearance, and performed the
 “ same manœuvres.

“ This exercise was repeated twice by each pair of
 “ knights. The whole troop then entered at the same time,
 “ marched, charged, formed, drew and returned their swords,
 “ and dismounted by word of command from the great-duke.
 “ At the conclusion they adjourned to the fire, chocolate was
 “ brought in, and, after a short conversation, the great-duke
 “ bowed and retired.”

The Russian nobility of Peterburgh are no less than those
 of Moscow distinguished for their hospitality towards for-
 eigners. We were no sooner presented to a person of rank
 and fortune, than we were regarded in the light of domestick
 visitants. Many of the nobility keep an open table, to which
 one invitation was considered as a standing passport of ad-
 mission.

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The tables were served with great profusion and taste. Though the Russians have adopted the delicacies of French cookery, yet they neither affect to despise their native dishes, nor squeamishly reject the solid joints which characterize our repasts. The plainest, as well as the choicest viands, were collected from the most distant quarters: I have frequently seen at the same time sterlet from the Volga, veal from Archangel, mutton from Astrachan, beef from the Ukraine, and pheasants from Hungary and Bohemia. Their common wines are chiefly claret, Burgundy, and Champagne, and I never tasted English beer and porter in greater perfection and abundance. Before dinner, even in the houses of persons of the first distinction, a small table is spread in a corner of the drawing room, covered with plates of caviare, dried and pickled herrings, smoked ham or tongue, bread, butter, and cheese, together with bottles of different *liqueurs*; and few of the company of either sex omitted a prelude of this kind to the main entertainment. This practice has induced many travellers to relate, that the Russians swallow bowls of brandy before dinner. What are the usages of the vulgar in this particular I cannot determine; but among the nobility I never observed the least violation of the most extreme sobriety: and this custom of taking *liqueur* before dinner, considering the extreme smallness of the glasses used on this occasion, is a very innocent refreshment, and will

not convey the faintest idea of success. Indeed the Russians CHAP. in no other wise differ from the French in this instance, than IV. that they taste a glass of *liqueur* before their repast, while the latter defer it till after dinner.

The usual hour of dining is at three: their entertainments are mostly regulated according to the French ceremonial, the wine being circulated during meals; and the dishes are no sooner removed than the company retire from table into another room, and are immediately served with coffee. Nor do the gentlemen, as in England, continue wedded to the bottle, while the ladies withdraw into a separate apartment.

Several of the nobility also receive company every evening in the most easy manner: the parties usually met about seven; some sat down to whist, macao, loo, and other games, some conversed, and others danced. Amid the refreshments tea was handed round no less frequently than in England. At ten supper was brought in, and the party generally broke up between eleven and twelve. It is no exaggeration to say, that, during our continuance in this city, not one evening passed but we had it in our power to attend an assembly of this sort; and if we had always frequented the same, we should always have found the greatest cordiality of reception. From these circumstances there is perhaps no metropolis in Europe, excepting Vienna, which is rendered more agreeable to foreigners than Peterburgh.

The houses of the nobility are furnished with great elegance, and the suite of apartments in which they receive company is uncommonly splendid. They are fitted up in the style of London and Paris, and the new fashions make their appearance as soon as in those two capitals.

I have, on a former occasion, described the modes of simulation practised by the peasants and common people; I

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shall here mention those ~~which~~ I observed in use among persons of higher rank. The gentlemen bow very low, and the ladies incline their heads instead of curtsying. Sometimes the gentlemen kiss the ladies hands as a mark of respect, which is usual in many countries; if the parties are well acquainted, or of equal condition, or if the lady is willing to pay a compliment, she salutes his cheek while he is kissing her hand. Frequently, while she stoops to touch his cheek, he takes that opportunity of saluting her. I have often observed this ceremony performed and repeated, as well in the drawing room at court, as at the different assemblies. If the gentleman is a person of very high rank, the lady offers first to kiss his hand, which he prevents by saluting her on the cheek. The men, and particularly relations, exchange salutes in this manner, each kissing the other's hand at the same instant, and afterwards their cheeks.

The Russians, in their usual mode of address, never prefix any title or appellation of respect to their names; but persons of all ranks, even those of the first distinctions, call each other by their christian names, to which they add a patronymick. These patronymicks are formed in some cases by adding Vitch* to the Christian name of the father, in others by Of or Ef; the former is applied only to persons of condition, the latter to those of inferior rank. Thus,

Ivan Ivanoyitch	} is Ivan the son of Ivan.	Petër Alexievitch	} Peter the son of Alexèy.
Ivan Ivanof		Peter Alexeof	

The female patronymick is Efna, or Ofna, as Sophia Alexeefna, or Sophia the daughter of Alexèy; Maria Ivanofna, or Maria the daughter of Ivan.

* Vitch is the same as our Fitz, as Fitzherbert, or the son of Herbert.

Great families are also in general distinguished by a surname, as the family of Romanof, Galitzin, Sheremetof, &c. CHAP.
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Any stranger, who has ever experienced the great politeness and taste, which are conspicuous, as well in the behaviour and manners of the Russian nobility, as in their entertainments and assemblies, must naturally be surprized that scarcely sixty years ago the following regulations should have been thought necessary by Peter the Great *.

Regulations for Assemblies at Petersburg in 1719.

“ Assembly is a French term, which cannot be rendered in Russian in one word: It signifies a number of persons meeting together, either for diversion, or to talk about their own affairs. Friends may see each other on that occasion, to confer together on business or other subjects, to enquire after domestick and foreign news, and so to pass their time. After what manner we will have those assemblies kept, may be learned from what follows.

I. “ Every person, at whose house the assembly is to be in the evening, is to hang out a bill or other sign, to give notice to all persons of either sex.

II. “ The assembly shall not begin sooner than four or five in the afternoon, nor continue later than ten at night.

III. “ The master of the house is not obliged to go and meet his guests, to conduct them out, or to entertain them; but though himself is exempt from waiting on them, he ought to find chairs, candles, drink, and all the necessaries asked for, as also to provide for all sorts of gaming, and what belongs thereto.

IV. “ No certain hour is fixed for any body's coming or going; it is sufficient if one makes his appearance in the assembly.

V. “ It is left to every one's liberty to sit, walk, or play, just as he likes; nor shall any body hinder him, or take exception at what he does, on pain of emptying the Great Eagle (a bowl filled with wine or brandy). As for the rest, it is enough to salute at coming and going.

VI. “ Persons of rank, as, for instance, noblemen, and superior officers, likewise merchants of note, and head-masters, (by which are understood ship-builders), persons employed in the Chancery, and their wives and children, shall have liberty of frequenting the assemblies.

VII. “ A particular place shall be assigned to the footmen (those of the house excepted), that there may be sufficient room in the apartments designed for the assembly.”

* Perry's State of Russia, Vol. I. p. 186.

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The English merchants live in a very social and even splendid manner. Beside constant meetings at their respective houses, they have, once in a fortnight, a regular assembly in a house hired for that purpose, to which they obligingly invite all their countrymen who happen to be at Petersburg, and occasionally some Russian ladies. There is a ball, cards, and supper: twelve or fourteen couple usually dance on this occasion; and the meeting is perfectly cheerful and agreeable.

During my stay at Petersburg I dined two or three times at a club, which consists of about 300 members, mostly English and Germans. None are admitted who have a rank superior to that of major-general; but a member who afterwards attains a higher station is not excluded. Every person, upon his admission, pays £5. and afterwards *£2. per ann.* They have a large house, which is open day and night, and servants always attending. It contains billiard tables, a coffee room, apartments for cards, a large apartment, in which there is a supper every evening, and a dinner three times in the week. Each meal costs 2s. exclusive of wine, which is separately paid for. Any member may introduce his friend, first entering his name in a day-book, and paying his dinner at the stipulated rate.

C H A P. V.

Description of the fortress of Petersburg.—Cathedral of St. Peter and Paul.—Tomb and character of Peter the Great, and those of the Imperial family.—Mint.—History of the boat called The Little Grandfire, which gave rise to the Russian navy upon the Black Sea.

THE origin of the fortrefs which occasioned the foundation of this capital has been already related in the general description of Petersburg. Its walls of brick, and strengthened with five regular bastions, encircle a small island of about half a mile in circumference, formed by the Great and Little Neva. Within the walls are barracks for a small garrison, several wards used as a common jail, and dungeons for the confinement of state-prisoners.

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In the middle of the island stands the cathedral of St. Peter and Paul, in a different style of architecture from that usually employed in the construction of churches for the service of the Greek religion. Instead of domes, it has a spire of copper gilt, the highest part whereof rises above 240 feet from the ground. Its interior decorations are much more elegant and less gaudy than those in the churches of Novogorod and Moscow ; and the paintings are done in the modern style of the Italian school, and not in the dry manner of the Greek masters.

In this cathedral are deposited the remains of Peter the Great, and of all the successive sovereigns, excepting those of

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Peter II. buried at Moscow, and of the late unfortunate Peter III. interred in the convent of St. Alexander Nevski. The tombs are of marble, of the same form as those at Moscow and Novogorod, namely, in the shape of a square coffin; and have all, excepting one, an inscription in the Russian tongue: when I saw them, they were covered with gold brocade, bordered with silver lace and ermine. I viewed, not without a peculiar kind of veneration and awe, the sepulchre which contains the body of Peter I. who founded the greatness of the Russian empire: the sternness, or rather the ferocity, of whose disposition, neither spared age nor sex, nor the dearest connections; and who yet, with a strong degree of compunction, was accustomed to say of himself, "I can reform my people, but I cannot reform myself." A * royal historian has justly observed of Peter, that he compensated the cruelties of a tyrant by the virtues of a legislator. We must readily allow that he considerably reformed and civilized his subjects; that he created a navy; that he new-modelled and disciplined his army; that he promoted the arts and sciences, agriculture and commerce; and laid the foundation of that glory which Russia has since attained. But, instead of crying out in the language of panegyrick,

Erubescere, ars! Hic vir maximus tibi nihil debuit:
Exulta, natura! Hoc stupendum tuum est †:

We may, on the contrary, venture to regret, that he was not *taught* the lessons of humanity; that his sublime and

* Pierre I. mourut dans ces circonstances, laissant dans le monde plutôt la réputation d'un homme extraordinaire, que d'un grand homme, & *convenait les cruautés d'un Tyran des vertus d'un législateur.* Hist. de la Maison

de Brantebourg.

† Blush, art! this hero owed thee nothing.
Exult, nature! for this prodigy is all
thy own.

See Gordon's Life of Peter. V. II.

unruly genius was not controuled and improved by proper *culture*; nor his savage nature corrected and softened by the refinements of *art*. And if Peter failed in enlightening the mass of his subjects as much as he wished, the failure was principally occasioned by his own precipitate temper, by the chimerical idea of introducing the arts and sciences by force, and of performing in a moment what must be the gradual work of time; by violating the established customs of his people; and, in contradiction to the dictates of sound policy, requiring an immediate sacrifice of those prejudices which had been sanctified by ages. In a word, his failure was the failure of a superior genius wandering without a guide; and the greatest eulogium we can justly offer to his extraordinary character, is to allow that his virtues were his own, and his defects those of his education and country.

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Peter the Great was born at Moscow on the 30th of May, O. S. 1672; and died at Petersburg on the 28th of January, 1725, in the 53d year of his age, and in the 44th of a glorious reign.

I observed near the tomb of Peter some Turkish colours: they were taken in the naval engagement of *Tcheshme*, displayed during a solemn procession in honour of that victory, and then placed by the hand of the present empress at the tomb of the sovereign who was the founder of the Russian navy.

Near those of Peter repose the ashes of his second wife and successor Catharine I. the beautiful Livonian, who, by a wonderful train of events, was exalted from a cottage to unbounded sovereignty *.

In the vault of this church, but without any tomb or inscription, lies Alexey son of Peter I. who fell a sacrifice to

* See the Account of Catharine I. in Chap. VII. of this Book.

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the artifices of the designing Mentchikof, and to the resentment of an inhuman, though, perhaps, justly offended father. The recollection of his fate makes a strong impression on a feeling mind; and must still more forcibly strike a subject of the British empire; where will is not law; where the heir apparent is as secure as the sovereign himself; and where the right of succession stands irrevocable, not to be altered by the caprice or jealousy of a reigning monarch. The speculative theorist may indeed argue for Peter, that there should be a power invested in the sovereign to exclude an unworthy successor, who should threaten to overturn his plans of reformation, and again to plunge his country into the barbarism from which he had raised it with so much difficulty. But, in effect, this is nothing less than rendering the fate of a whole empire absolutely dependent upon the will of one person, who, during his life, may change his heir as often as he changes his opinion; or who, like Peter, may expire without nominating his successor, and leave the crown to be seized or disputed by those who have not the least shadow of pretension. By this means the throne is open to every claimant who may have a chance of securing the concurrence of the army. If all the evils which might have been expected from this change of the succession have not been hitherto experienced in Russia, it must be ascribed to the following consideration: that notwithstanding the absolute power which the sovereign possessed of nominating his heir, yet the notions of hereditary right, and the privilege of primogeniture, though annulled by Peter's law, still retained a considerable degree of influence in

the opinion of the nation. The exclusion, however, of Alexèy, the decree* subsequent to his death, and the unsettled ideas concerning the right of succession necessarily introduced by that fatal mandate, have occasioned frequent revolutions in the government of this country: and the disposal of the sceptre has in some measure depended upon the regiments of guards† stationed in the capital. Though I do not mean to justify the conduct of Alexèy, yet I cannot but assent to the opinion of a judicious historian,

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* “ In the month of February, 1722, a proclamation was made by the found of trumpet, requiring every natural-born subject of the Russian empire, and all foreigners then residing there, to swear and sign an oath, ‘ that they will acknowledge, as successor to the empire, the person whom his majesty should nominate for their sovereign after his death. This order struck a damp on the spirits of every body, when they reflected on the undoubted title of the young prince Peter, his majesty’s grandson, and only remaining heir of the imperial family.” Bruce’s Memoirs, p. 226.

“ The oath was thus worded: “ I do vow and swear before Almighty God, and upon the Holy Evangelists, that I own and acknowledge the decree concerning the succession to the crown of Russia, published the 5th of February, 1722, by order of the most illustrious and mighty prince, Peter I. emperor and sovereign of all Russia, our most gracious lord and master; wherein it is ordained, *that the present, or any succeeding emperor of Russia, not only may at pleasure nominate and appoint a successor to the crown, but likewise alter the succession, as often as he, the present, or any other succeeding emperor shall see cause, or think fit.* This imperial ordinance, I the under-named do acknowledge to be just and right, and promise all due obedience to the person so named and

“ appointed successor to the imperial crown of Russia; I will hold and acknowledge him to be the only lawful heir, and my only sovereign, and accordingly will hazard life and fortune to maintain him on the throne, and defeat the designs of his enemies. Moreover, if I shall ever be found to act contrary to this oath, or to put any other construction upon it, then, and in that case, I will be accounted a traitor, and not only be liable to an ignominious death, but also to the anathema of the church. In confirmation of which, I kiss the Holy Gospel and cross, and hereunto do set my hand.”

† The licentious conduct of the guards (soon after the accession of Catharine I.), which proceeded from their power of disposing of the crown, was uncontrollable. Although the empress appeared to rule with an absolute authority, yet it is certain that she entirely depended upon the caprice of the Frederickshof regiment of guards, and the nobles who had placed her upon her throne, neither of whom she durst contradict or reduce. Catharine, well aware of her situation, endeavoured to free herself from this dependent state, by declaring all the majors, who had most nobly, licentiously, merited; and, under pretence of their promotions, to remove them from the regiment of guards, and, in their stead, to appoint several foreigners, who were

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rian, that as Peter I. opened by this law an abundant source of troubles and confusion, it had been better for the country if that weak prince, with all his defects, had been suffered to reign *. And I may venture to add, that the re-establishment of hereditary right may be classed among the foremost of those excellent regulations, which distinguish the reign of Catharine II.

In

"officers in the other regiments, to be majors; but as the captains of the guards were unanimously dissatisfied with these regulations, she was constrained to place affairs upon the old footing." Austrian Envoy in B. H. M. XI. p. 507.

Alto, upon Elizabeth's accession, Manstein says, "The whole company of grenadiers of the regiment of Preobreshensky were ennobled and promoted. The private men had the rank of lieutenants; and the corporals of majors; the armourer and quarter-master that of lieutenant-colonels; and the sergeants that of colonels of the army. It was called the company of body-guards. Grunstein was made adjutant of this company, with the title of brigadier. He did not long keep his ground; accustomed to the low ambition of a private soldier, his head was too weak to bear a higher fortune, and growing giddy with his preferment, he was guilty of all kind of insolences, broke out into disrespect to the empress herself, and ended with undergoing the knout, and being banished to the lands which the empress had given him when she first promoted him.

"This company committed all imaginable disorders for the first months that the empress remained at Peterburgh. The new noble lieutenants ran through all the dirtiest public-houses, got drunk, and wallowed in the streets. They entered into the houses of the greatest noblemen, demanding money with threats,

"and took away, without ceremony, whatever they liked. There was no keeping within bounds, men, who having been all their life-time used to be disciplined by drubbing, could not presently familiarise themselves to a more civil treatment. It must have been the work of time to reduce them to good manners. I do not know whether they were ever brought to correct themselves, but the most unruly of them were expelled the corps, and placed as officers in other regiments of the army, where the vacancies were many. An admirable expedient this for procuring excellent officers!" Memoirs of Russia, p. 319, 320.

* "C'est à cette imprudente loi, qu'on doit attribuer toutes les revolutions qui ont affligé la Russie. C'est Pierre I. qui a ouvert dans son empire cette source abondante de troubles et de défolation. Ne valait-il pas mieux qu'Alexis regnât?" L'Evesque, vol. IV. p. 454.

An ingenious author, who has lately published part of a voluminous work upon Russia, controverts this judicious reflection, justifies this decree of Peter, and denies that it had the least bad tendency, or has been the cause of any revolutions. See Le Clerc's Hist. Moderne de Russie, p. 441 to 445.

His arguments, however, will scarcely appear convincing to any person who has perused with attention the History of Russia since the demise of Peter the Great; and must appear of little weight, unless the following

In the same vault which contains the body of the unfortunate Alexèy is placed that of Charlotte Christina Sophia princess of Brunswick, his no less unfortunate wife, and whose fate is more affecting, because she deserved it less. She was born in 1694, married in 1711 the tzarovitch who had seen her at her father's court, and died on the 1st of November, 1715, partly of a broken heart occasioned by her husband's ill treatment, and partly by the consequences of her delivery of Peter II.*

Among the imperial sepulchres is that of Anne of Holstein, eldest daughter of Peter and Catharine, who is less known, though far more deserving of notice, than her sister the empress Elizabeth, because her virtues were not ennobled by a diadem. Anne is described † as a princess of a majestick

lowing queries can be answered in the negative.

Was not the accession of Catharine I. a revolution? The abolition of despotick authority, and the election of Anne, a revolution? The resumption of despotick authority by the same empress a revolution? The removal of Biren from the regency a revolution? The accession of Elizabeth a revolution? The dethronement of Peter III. and the accession of Catharine (though justified by the peculiar situation of the empire) a revolution? Were they not all occasioned by the loose notions concerning the right of succession, and accomplished by the intervention of the guards? Were not the execution, scourging, and banishment of many principal nobles, the confiscation of estates, and the confinement of numberless state-prisoners, the fatal consequences of these frequent changes? the last excepted, when the lenity of the empress spared the usual victims to policy and resentment. Have not these civil feuds, which so long convulsed this empire, been diminished by the well-ground-

ed expectation of an unbroken hereditary line in the present imperial family? And as the influence of Peter's fatal decree is considerably abated, and the most distant probability of another revolution scarcely exists, has not the rapid increase of commerce and population throughout every part of this vast empire proclaimed the beneficial effects of the more stable government of Catharine II.?

* See an account of this princess in Chap. VIII. of this Book.

† “ Anna Petrowna ressembloit de visage
“ et d’humeur à son auguste pere, mais la
“ nature et l’éducation avoient tout embelli
“ chez elle. On lui passoit plus de cinq
“ piés de hauteur, en faveur d’une taille
“ extrêmement délicate, et d’une finesse par-
“ faite dans toutes ses proportions. Rien
“ de plus majestueux que son port et sa
“ physionomie, rien de plus régulier que
“ ses traits, et non obstat cela, des graces
“ tendres dans le regard et le sourire; des
“ cheveux et des sourcils noirs, un teint
“ d’une blancheur éclatante, et ce vermill-
“ lon frais et délicat qui restera sans cesse
“ inimitable

BOOK
IV

majestick form and expressive features, of an excellent and improved understanding, and of irreproachable morals. While she was very young, count Apraxin, a Russian nobleman, paid his addresses to her, but was rejected with scorn. Not daunted, however, with this repulse, he continued his courtship, and, finding her one day alone, he threw himself at her feet, offered his sword, and entreated her to put an end to his life and misery. "Give it me," said the princess, stretching out her hand, "you shall see that the daughter of your emperor has strength and spirit sufficient to rid herself of a wretch who insults her." The count, apprehensive that she might execute her threat, withdrew the sword, and demanded instant pardon; and, as the princess told the story with great humour, became the derision of the court *.

Anne espoused, in 1725, Charles Frederick duke of Holstein-Gottorp, to whom she had been long betrothed. Bred up with the expectation of two crowns †, she was disappointed

"inimitable au fard; les yeux d'une couleur indécise et d'un feu éblouissant. Bref, de pied en cap l'envie n'y pouvoit trouver aucun défaut. Avec cela un jugement pénétrant, une vraie candeur et bonté de caractère, libérale, et magnanime, très bien instruite, parlant élégamment sa langue maternelle, le François, l'Allemand, l'Italien et le Suédois." Bassewitz in Bus. Hist. Mag. IX. p. 370, 371.

* Bassewitz, p. 371.

† Those of Sweden and Russia: the former by marriage, and the latter by her father's nomination.

With respect to the former, her husband, the only son of Hedwige eldest sister of Charles XII. was, upon that monarch's death, the undoubted heir of the Swedish crown, but was set aside by the Swedes, who preferred Ulrica Elconora Charles's youngest sister. See Genealogical Table of

the House of Vasa, and the chapter on the death of Charles XII. both in the next volume.

As to her expectations of the Russian crown, Bassewitz, her husband's minister, positively asserts, that Peter I. had formed the resolution of raising her to the throne. "C'étoit dans les mains de cette princesse, que Pierre le Grand souhaitoit de voir passer son sceptre." Bus. Hist. Mag. IX. p. 371.

A short time before his last illness he explained to her and the duke of Holstein the system he had pursued during his reign, and instructed them in the details of government. While he lay upon his death-bed, having recovered his understanding by a momentary intermission of the delirium (see Chapter VIII. on Catharine I.), he called for Anne to dictate his last sentiments, but upon her arrival he relapsed into his former state

pointed of both ; nominated by her mother Catharine I. one of the council of regency during the minority of Peter II. ; excluded from that council after having only once taken her seat, by the despotism of prince Menzikof, whom she herself had promoted with all her influence ; driven from Russia by the mandate of that arrogant minister, she retired with her husband to Kiel, where she died in 1728, in the 22d year of her age, and leaving one son, the unfortunate Peter III.

Her cousin the empress Anne *, second daughter of Ivan Alexievitch, lies interred in the same cathedral. She was widow of the duke of Courland ; and resided at Mittau when she was unexpectedly called to take

state of insensibility. Ibid. p. 372.

It also appears, from the following extracts from Sir Luke Schaubé's papers, in the possession of the Earl of Hardwicke, that Peter had even taken some steps towards settling the crown upon his daughter Anne.

" *Le Cardinal [Dubois] ne paroit guere touché de l'injustice qui seroit faite au fils du czarowitz ; et il dit, que si le czar regneroit la succession en faveur de sa fille, il faudroit bien que ceux qui voudroient se lier avec lui de son vivant, promissent de la maintenir après sa mort, après laquelle toutefois il arriveroit vraisemblablement de cette disposition comme si elle n'avoit jamais existé.*" Extract of a letter from Sir Luke Schaubé to Lord Carteret, dated Paris Jan. 20, 1722.

" *Ce que les ministres Moscovites offrirent au Monf. de Campredon que le czar voulut se procurer une garantie pour la succession à ses états de la manière qu'il se proposoit d'établir, paroit fort singulier, &c.*" Par rapport à l'exclusion de son petit-fils en faveur de sa fille, sans marquer en même temps à quel prince il la destine." Extract from a Letter of Lord Carteret to the Cardinal du Bois, dated Jan. 1721-2.

The decree which he issued in February, 1722, seemed a prelude to this appointment,

which was probably prevented by the suddenness of his death.

Catharine I. was no less inclined to appoint Anne her successor, and a strong party was formed in her favour ; but that empress was prevented from following her inclinations in this instance by the shortness of her reign, and the danger of excluding Peter Alexievitch, who, as the grandson of Peter the Great, was supported by a still more powerful party.

* "The czarina is about my height, but a very large made woman, very well shaped for her size, and easy and graceful in her person. She has a brown complexion, black hair, dark and blue eyes ; she has an awfulness in her countenance that strikes you at first sight ; but when she speaks, she has a smile about her mouth that is inexpressibly sweet. She talks a good deal to every body, and has such an affability in her address, that you seem talking to an equal ; and yet she does not, for one moment, drop the dignity of a sovereign. She seems to have great humanity ; and is, I think, what one would call a fine agreeable woman were she a private person." Letters by a Lady from Russia.

possession :

BOOK IV. possession of the empire. Upon the death of Peter II. without issue, the sceptre, according to Catharine's will, ought to have reverted to her grandson, afterwards Peter III. son of Anne of Holstein; but as hereditary right was abolished by Peter's decree, and no successor was appointed by Peter II. a privy council of eight nobles, in whom the regal power was vested at the decease of the emperor, formed a plan for limiting the enormous prerogative of the crown; leaving the title and pomp of royalty to the reigning monarch, but reserving to themselves the whole supreme authority. Having, according to this project, drawn up certain conditions to be ratified by the future sovereign, they chose the princess Anne in preference to the family of Peter the Great, and to her eldest sister Catharine of Mecklenburgh, because, having no legal claim, she would more readily be induced to agree to any terms which might secure her the succession. Anne signed the articles without hesitation, only for the purpose of breaking them with greater facility; and she had scarcely arrived at Moscow before she was enabled, by the assistance of the guards, to annul the act of renunciation, to dissolve the privy council itself, and to re-assume the imperial authority in as unlimited a form as it had ever been enjoyed by any of her predecessors. This empress resigned herself implicitly to the direction of Biren, a native of Courland, who, from the lowest extraction, had risen to be absolute favourite of his mistress, and regulated all her councils with the most arbitrary sway.

Anne has generally been censured for her severity, and is said to have ruled the Russians with the knout in her hand. But the cruelties which tarnished her reign must be attributed to the brutal temper of Biren. The empress herself was naturally of an humane disposition; she frequently opposed the sanguinary measures of her

her favourite, and in vain endeavoured to soften his *mérciless* CHAP.
V. disposition, by submitting frequently to intreaties, and interceding even with tears, for the unfortunate objects of his resentment*. But, in effect, the sovereign who permits cruelties is, and ought to be, equally guilty in the eyes of the world with the sovereign who commands them; and posterity justly imputes to the mistress the vices of the servant who is uncontrouled in his abuse of power. Anne died on the 17th of October, 1740, after having nominated for her successor her nephew Ivan, then an infant, with a view of prolonging the reign of Biren, whom she appointed regent during the minority of that emperor.

As I viewed the tomb of Elizabeth, I recalled to my recollection the motley character of that indolent and voluptuous empress, who, by the revolution of 1741, renewed in her person the line of Peter the Great upon the throne of Russia. Elizabeth was born in 1709, and, when arrived at years of maturity, was extremely admired for her great personal attractions †.

Her

* “J’ai été présent,” writes Count Munich, “lorsque l’impératrice pleuroit à chaudes larmes sur ce que Biron fulminoit & menaçoit de ne vouloir plus servir si l’impératrice ne sacrifioit Volinski & ainsi des autres.” *Ebauche, &c. p. 119.*

Mrs. Vigor says of her, “I have often seen her melt into tears at a melancholy story, and she shews such unaffected horror at any mark of cruelty, that her mind to me seems composed of the most amiable qualities that I have ever observed in any one person; which seems a particular mark of the goodness of Providence, as she is possessed of such power.” *Letters from Russia, p. 89.*

† Mrs. Vigor thus describes the person of Elizabeth in the 24th year of her age.

“The princess Elixabeth, who is, you know, a daughter of Peter I. is very handsome. She is very fair, with light brown hair, large sprightly blue eyes, fine teeth, and a pretty mouth. She is inclinable to be fat, but is very genteel, and dances better than any one I ever saw. She speaks German, French, and Italian: is extremely gay, and talks to every body, in a very proper manner, in the circle, but hates the ceremony of a court.”

And again, “She has an affability and sweetness of behaviour that instantly inspires love and respect. In publick she has an unaffected gaiety, and a certain air of gladness, that seem entirely to possess her whole mind; but in private, I have

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Her beauty, as well as her rank and large dowry, occasioned several offers, none of which, however, took place, and she died single. During the life of her father Peter I. a negotiation had commenced for her marriage with Louis XV. but although not seriously adopted by the court of France, it was never relinquished until the daughter of Stanislaus, titular king of Poland, was publickly affianced to the young monarch. By the will of Catharine, Elizabeth was betrothed to Charles Augustus, bishop of Lubeck, duke of Sleswick and Holstein, and brother to the late king of Sweden, but he died before the completion of the ceremony. In the reign of Peter II. she was demanded by Charles Margrave of Anspach; in 1741 by the Persian tyrant Kouli Khan; and at the time of the revolution the regent Anne endeavoured to force her to espouse prince Louis of Brunswick, for whom she entertained a settled aversion *. From the period of her accession she renounced all thoughts of the connubial state, and adopted her nephew Peter. Her dislike to marriage, however, certainly did not proceed from any disinclination to man; for she would freely and frequently own to her confidants that she was never happy but when she was in love †, if we may dignify by that name a capricious passion ever changing its object. The same characteristick warmth of temper hurried her no less to the extremes of devotion: she

“ have heard her talk in such a strain of good sense and steady reasoning, that I am persuaded the other behaviour is a feint; but she seems easy: I say *seems*, for who knows the heart? In short, she is an amiable creature; and though I think the throne very worthily filled, yet I cannot help wishing she were to be the successor at least.” *Letters from Russia*, p. 73 and 76.

* See Maistre's Memoirs, p. 25. 285. 309.

† “ Elle étoit voluptueuse à l'excès, née de sang voluptueux, & elle disoit souvent à ses confidantes, qu'elle n'étoit contente que tant qu'elle étoit amoureuse; mais elle étoit avec cela fort inconstante & changeoit souvent de favoris.” *Ebauche*, &c. p. 170.

was scrupulously exact in her annual confessions of the wanderings of her heart, in expressing the utmost contrition, and in punctually adhering both in publick and private to the minutest ceremonies and ordinances of the church. CHAP.
V.

With respect to her disposition and turn of mind, she is generally styled the humane Elizabeth, as she made a vow upon her accession to inflict no capital punishments* during her reign; and is reported to have shed tears upon the news of every victory gained by her troops, from the reflection that it could not have been obtained without great bloodshed. But although no criminal was formally executed in publick, yet the state prisons were filled with wretched sufferers, many of whom, unheard of and unknown, perished in the damp and unwholesome dungeons: the state inquisition, or secret committee, appointed to judge persons suspected of high treason, had constant occupation during her reign; many upon the slightest surmizes were tortured in secret; many underwent the knout and expired under the infliction. But the transaction which reflects the highest disgrace upon her reign, was the publick punishment of two ladies of fashion; the countesses Bestuchef and Lapookin: each received fifty strokes of the knout in the open square of Petersburg, their tongues were cut out, and they were banished into Siberia. One of these ladies, Madame Lapookin, esteemed the handsomest woman in Russia, was accused of carrying on a secret correspondence with the French ambassador; but her real crime was her having commented too freely on the empresses amours. Even the mere relation of such an affecting scene, as that of a woman of great beauty and high rank publicly exposed and scourged by the common executioner, must excite the strongest emotions of horror, and

* See Remarks on her celebrated edict, which abolished capital punishments, in the chapter on the Penal Laws of Russia in the next volume.

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IV. } forbid us to venerate the memory of a princess, who, with such little regard to her own sex, could issue those barbarous commands.

But let us lament the inconsistency of human nature ; and, in considering the character of Elizabeth, let us not deny that her heart, perhaps naturally benevolent, was occasionally corrupted by power, and steeled with suspicion ; and that although mercy might predominate whenever it did not interfere with her passions and prejudices, yet she by no means deserves the appellation of humane, the most noble * attribute of a sovereign, when it interposes to temper and mitigate the severity of justice. Elizabeth died in 1761, in the twenty-first year of her reign, and in the 53d of her age : she expired in December, the same month in which she was born, and in which she acceded to the throne.

In the fortrefs is a small arsenal, which, among other military stores, contains some antient cannon, cast in the middle of the sixteenth century under the reign of Ivan Vassilievitch II. and which I was surprized to find of such good workmanship. I had occasion to mention in a former chapter, that the art of casting cannon was introduced into Russia under Ivan Vassilievitch I. by Aristotle of Bologna. Ivan II. did not fail to imitate the example of his grandfather in procuring, by means of foreign artists, the best artillery ; and it is to this precaution that both these monarchs were chiefly indebted for their successes in war, and for the conquest of several provinces, which they annexed to their hereditary dominions.

* I was informed from undoubted authority, that it was impossible to obtain Elizabeth's consent for the execution of a felon who had even committed the most horrid species of premeditated murder, and that the master of the police used se-

cretly to order the executioner to knoot to death those delinquents who were found guilty of the most atrocious crimes. It is a pity that she did not reserve her humanity, which in this instance was cruelty to her people, for more respectable objects.

In a separate building of the fortress is the mint. The gold and silver is sent from the mines of Siberia, and the separation is performed in its laboratory. We surveyed the whole process from the first smelting of the ore to the coining. Among the silver we observed a large quantity of Dutch dollars, which were melting down in order to be recoined in roubles. Peter I. wanting silver for the new coinage, issued out a decree, that all the customs should be paid in Dutch dollars: at present half the duties are still discharged in that money by all foreign merchants, excepting the English, who are exempted by treaty. But as the gold and silver obtained from the mines of Siberia, with the addition of the dollars, are by no means sufficient for the money in circulation; a considerable quantity of both these metals are annually imported. The coinage, in its present debased state, must be very advantageous, as in the gold there is so much alloy, that a profit of 48 *per cent.* is gained, and in the silver of 37 %. This state of the Russian money renders useless the prohibition against exporting it, and is productive of one mischievous effect, that it promotes the contraband introduction of false coin from foreign countries, upon which a considerable profit is acquired.

Among the remarkable objects in the mint, the machine for stamping the coin deserves to be mentioned because it was invented by her present majesty, and is esteemed a very ingenious and simple piece of mechanism.

Within the fortress is a four-oared boat, which is secured, with great veneration, in a brick building, constructed for that purpose, and preserved as a memorial to future ages of

* See *Essai sur le commerce de Russie*, C. X. where the reader will find a very accurate state of the Russian coinage, in which the difference of the present money from

that of the former reigns is laid down, and was informed from good authority, with great exactness, p. 254—255.

BOOK IV. its being the origin of the Russian fleet. Peter I. used to call it the *Little Grandfire*; and, in the latter part of his reign, ordered it to be transported to Petersburg: it was conducted in solemn procession, in order to excite the admiration of the people, and held up that they might compare in what condition he had found the marine, and to what perfection he had brought it. The history of this little boat is worthy of notice, as well because it comprehends the first rise of the navy, as because, during the course of this narrative, I shall be enabled to observe sundry errors which have been advanced by many historians of Peter the Great; and which, if not duly corrected, will be consecrated by time, and be admitted as truths.

I shall begin by remarking, that there is not the least foundation in the report * that Peter was naturally afraid of the water, and that he had the utmost difficulty in surmounting this aversion: on the contrary, he seems to have always

* L'Evesque has adopted this notion, and he cites for his authority a History of Peter the Great in the Slavonian tongue, first printed at Venice, and republished at Petersburg, with Notes, by Prince Sherbatof. He seems to cite from the text, and not from the notes. But I may venture to contradict this notion from the undoubted authority of General Patrick Gordon, cited by Mr. Muller, in his *Nachricht von der Ursprung, &c.* in Journal of St. Pet. for 1778, p. 241.

General Gordon was a native of Scotland, and was born in 1635: having served with glory in the Swedish and Polish armies, he entered into the Russian service in 1661, in which he continued to the end of his life. He wrote his Journal in the English tongue: it is now in the archives at Moscow, and has never been printed. Mr. Muller, who has made great use of it in some of his writings, proposed to extract and publish all the circumstances relating to Russia; but

to the great regret of all lovers of history, has been prevented by other occupations from carrying his design into execution.

I find, from Bachmeister's *Russ. Bibl.* for 1782, that a German translation of it is given in Part IV. of the Journal of St. Petersburg for 1782, which I have not yet seen.

Gordon died in 1699, so much regretted by the czar, that, to use the words of his relation, "His majesty visited him five times during his illness, was present the moment he expired, and shut his eyes with his own hand."

The same author also says of him, greatly to his honour, "General Gordon was a sober man, in a country where drinking is much in fashion; and though he used to be much in the czar's company, his majesty, knowing his inclinations, would never allow him to be urged. He was ever mindful of his business, and did great service to the Russian nation." Gordon's *Hist. of Peter the Great*, vol. I. p. 137, 138.

expressed

expressed a strong attachment to that element. The boat, which has given rise to this detail, was constructed, during the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, by Karstens Brandt, a Dutch ship-right, whom Alexèy Michaelovitch had invited into Russia. Peter *, about the year 1691, accidentally seeing this boat at a village near Moscow, inquired why it was built in a different manner from all those which he had hitherto observed: Timmerman, a foreigner, who taught him fortification, and to whom he addressed the question, informed him that it was a vessel † so contrived as to go against the wind. Peter's curiosity was roused by this intelligence, and Brandt, who was still in Russia, being instantly summoned, repaired it without delay, provided it with a mast and rigging, and, having launched it upon the Yausa, failed in it, to the surprize and astonishment of the young tzar, who immediately embarked in it himself, and, under the direction of Brandt, soon learned to comprehend the management of the vessel.

Having repeated these experiments upon the Yausa, as well as upon a neighbouring lake, to which it was transported, he ordered Brandt to build a yatch ‡ upon the banks of the Moskva, which was launched in 1691, and in which Peter embarked and failed as far as Columna. Animated with the success of this expedition, he commanded the same shipwright to construct, upon the lake of Perislas, several small vessels carrying guns, in which the tzar failed on the

* This part is taken from L'Evesque, who cites for his authority the Life of Peter, by the archbishop Theophanes, with Notes, by Prince Sherebatof. Hist. de Russie, vol. IV. p. 111.

† L'Evesque says, from the authority of Prince Sherebatof, that it was une chaloupe

Angloise; but we must prefer the authority of General Gordon, who says it was built by Brandt. Perhaps Timmerman might think it an English vessel.

‡ From hence I follow implicitly Muller's Extracts from General Gordon's Journal.

BOOK 8th of February, the 3d of March, and the 5th of April, of
IV. the following year. On the first of May another vessel was launched, and on the 9th Peter returned to Moscow. The death of Brandt, which soon followed, seems to have interrupted the increase of this little fleet, but did not prevent Peter from continuing his expeditions upon the lake. The following extracts, from General Gordon's Journal, will show with what eagerness the young monarch pursued his new occupation, when such trifling incidents as weighing anchor, and sailing across a lake, are circumstantially delineated.

"Gordon went on the 11th of August to Pereslavl; on the 14th he was entertained in due form and ceremony on board of the admiral's * ship; on the 18th," he adds, "we sailed from one side of the lake to the opposite bank; on the 21st we got under way, and sailed to the other side, where we again came to an anchor; on the 24th Gordon attended the tzar on ship-board; on the 28th we departed from Pereslavl, and on the 31st reached Alexaeffsk." But as the confined limits of a lake were become too inadequate to the rising ideas of the tzar, he hurried to Archangel, where he arrived in the month of June, 1693.

"On the 17th," says Gordon, "the post brought the news that the tzar had been upon the White Sea, and was happily arrived into port, and on the 11th of October he came back to Moscow. In the beginning of May, 1694, he returned to Archangel, and continued in those parts until September, during which time he made frequent expeditions upon the sea, and improved his knowledge of navigation."

* Mr. Muller conjectures that Le Fort was the admiral of this little squadron.

These little adventures, which seemed nothing more than mere youthful amusements, were, however, soon afterwards productive of the most glorious event which distinguished the reign of Peter. When the czar, in his campaign of 1695 against the Turks, besieged Azof, he found it impossible to take the town without blocking up the harbour, and as he did not at that time possess one ship, he was compelled to raise the siege.

His spirit being excited, rather than extinguished, by this disappointment, he gave orders for the immediate construction of several vessels: some were framed at Occa, and transported over land to the Don; but the greatest part were built at Veronetz. In less than a year he renewed the siege of Azof, and brought before it, to the infinite surprize of the Turks, two men of war, 23 gallies, two galleots, and four fire-ships*. With this little squadron, which sailed down the Don into the Black Sea, he blockaded the harbour, gained a naval victory over the Turkish gallies, and took Azof. He signalized this wonderful event by a triumphal entry into Moscow, and by a medal representing the taking of Azof, with a motto in Russian, "Victor by thunder and the waves." This success was only the prelude to still greater achievements; and as the security of his new conquests upon the Black Sea seemed to depend upon a powerful navy, the czar having collected from all quarters the most expert ship-builders, and himself superintended the necessary preparations at Veronetz, Azof, and Taganroc, set out upon his first expedition into foreign parts. In 1699, soon after his return, he was present at a naval review upon the Black Sea, in which ten frigates were engaged, the largest carrying fifty, and the smallest twenty-six guns†: and the Russian

* S. R. G. vol. II. p. 76.

† Ibid. p. 124.

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navy, in the harbours of the Euxine, constructed and upon the stocks, is described, only three years after the first preparations, as consisting of nine ships of 60 guns, ten of 50, ten of 48, two of 42, fourteen of 34, two of 32, three of 30, one of 26, one of 24, four of 18, three of 14, and four of 8 guns; beside 18 triremes, 100 brigantines, and 300 boats in the Dnieper. This stupendous account would be almost incredible if it was not recorded by the secretary* to the Austrian embassy, then resident at Moscow. It is scarcely paralleled by the naval exertions of the Romans in the first Punick war.

The rapidity with which Peter created his fleet for the Black Sea, was equalled by similar exertions upon the Baltic after the acquisition of Cronstadt and the foundation of Petersburg. But to return to the boat which occasioned this interesting detail, and which, according to Peter I. was the original cause of the Russian navy. In 1723 Peter, at the close of the Persian expedition, ordered it to be transported from Moscow to the new metropolis, and gave a publick entertain-

* Korb Diarium. The reader will find, in p. 236, a catalogue of the names of all these vessels, together with the breadth, length, depth, number of guns, and complement of men.

Le Bruyn, who was at Veronetz in 1703, mentions the shipping in the following words: "With regard to the ships here, we saw fifteen in the water, four men of war, the biggest of 54 guns, three victuallers, two fire-ships, and six bomb-ketches. On shore, and ready to be launched, were five men of war, after the Dutch fashion, from 60 to 64 guns, two after the Italian from 50 to 54, a galeass after the Venetian, and four gal- lies, besides 17 galleys at Siefoskie, two vessels from the town. Besides all this, there were at work upon five men of war

"after the English built, two bored for 74 guns, and two for 60 or 64; the fifth, which is called after his majesty, because he had the direction of her upon the stocks, is bored for 86 guns. They were at work also upon a packet-boat; and ashore, on the other side of the river, were about 200 brigantines, most of them built at Veronis; and at this time there were 400 stout brigantines upon the Nieper, and the Boryithenes, in the neighbourhood of Crim Tartary; and 300 flat-bottomed vessels upon the Volga; besides 18 men of war at Asoph, a bomb-vessel, and a yacht. The czar has several other ships, the largest of which is of 66 guns, four from 41 to 50, five of 36, two of 34, and others smaller, the least of 28 guns." Le Bruyn's Travels, vol. I. p. 62.

ment,

ment, which was called the *Consecration of the Little Grand-fire*. The fleet, consisting of twenty-seven men of war, was ranged at Cronstadt in the form of an half moon, when his majesty embarked in this boat, himself steering, while three admirals and prince Menzikof performed the office of rowers; being then towed by two sloops, it made a small circuit in the Gulf, and, returning by the fleet, the ships, as it passed along, struck their flags and saluted with all their guns, while the *Little Grandfire* returned each salute by a discharge of three small pieces. It was then brought into the harbour, and surrounded by the men of war.

A few days afterwards the *Little Grandfire* was conveyed to St. Petersburg, where its arrival was solemnized by a masquerade upon the water*. This memorable boat, freighted with the emperor, proceeded to the fortress, and was conducted, Peter himself assisting in the ceremony, under the discharge of all the artillery, to the place where it was deposited as a memorial to posterity, and where it now remains enshrined.

From the fortress we took water, and landed at an adjacent spot in the Island of Petersburg, near a wooden hovel, which is dignified by its having served for the habitation of Peter the Great while the fortress was constructing. It still exists in its original state; and stands under a brick building, purposely erected to preserve it from destruction. The house is no more than a ground floor, and consists of three rooms, which I had the curiosity to measure. They are only eight feet in height: the apartment for the reception of company, as it was called, is 15 feet square; the dining

* Corbett's present State of Russia, p. 218.

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{ Near this house is another four-oared boat, the work of Peter's own hands, and which has been erroneously called the *Little Grandfire*, an honourable appellation due only to that just described.

C H A P. VI.

Palace and gardens of Sarfko-Selo.—Oranienbaum.—History of Prince Menzikof.—Fortrefs.—Apartments of Peter III.—Palace and Gardens of Peterhof.—Dutch house built by Peter the Great.—Schluffelburgh.—Origin, history, and description of the fortrefs.

AS, upon our arrival at Petersburg, the season of the year was far advanced, we had no time or opportunity to visit many places in the neighbourhood of that capital. We contrived, however, before the approach of winter, to make excursions to Sarfko-Selo, to Oranienbaum and Peterhof, and, lastly, to Schluffelburgh; an account of which places forms the subject of the present chapter.

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Sarfko-Selo, an imperial palace, about fifteen miles from Petersburg, is the favourite summer residence of the empress, where she lives in a more retired manner than when she is at Peterhof. This palace, which was built by Elizabeth, is a brick edifice stuccoed white; is of disproportionate length, and in a most heavy style of architecture. The capitals of the outside pillars, many other exterior ornaments, and the series of wooden statues which support the cornice and adorn the roof, are all gilded, and exhibit a most tawdry appearance. The apartments are large and magnificent: some are fitted up in the old style of gawdy profusion; others in a less splendid, but more elegant taste, by her present majesty. One room is much admired, being richly incrustated with amber, a present from the king of Prussia.

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Having viewed the palace, we walked round the gardens, which are laid out in the English taste, and are prettily diversified with lawn, wood, and water. Among several bridges, we were particularly struck with one built after the model of Lord Pembroke's Palladian bridge at Wilton. It is exactly of the same size, but more magnificent, the lower part being of granite, and the colonade of marble. The latter was hewn and worked in Siberia by an Italian artist, who employed nine years in completing it. From Siberia it was transported by water to Petersburg, and from the capital to Sariko-Selo by land. It was a pleasing satisfaction to observe our works of taste introduced into these distant and, formerly, inhospitable regions. Several buildings were scattered about the gardens, many of which were raised in honour of those persons who distinguished themselves in the imperial service: among these I remarked a triumphal arch to Prince Orlof, for repairing to Moscow in order to check the progress of the plague, which raged with great violence in that city; a building to Count Alexèy Orlof, in memory of the naval victory at Tcheshme; and an obelisk to Marshal Romanzof, for his successes against the Turks.

Our next excursion was to Peterhof, Oranienbaum and Cronstadt*.

The road lay at a small distance from the Gulf of Finland, at first through a flat country, chiefly marshy, producing pasture and little corn. On our left ran a ridge of low hills, which once formed the boundary of the Gulf, when it spread over a larger space than it covers at present. We ascended this ridge, observed on our left the convent of St.

* Cronstadt will be described in the chapter which treats of the Russian navy. See Book VI. in the next volume.

Serge, and on our right the palace of Strelna, begun by Elizabeth, but never finished.

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About four miles further we passed by Peterhof, and proceeded to Oranienbaum, through a country covered with forest.

The palace of Oranienbaum, which stands near the shore of the Gulf of Finland, about the distance of 27 miles from Petersburg, was erected by Prince Menzikof, while he was in the meridian of a power, to which scarcely any subject but himself has ever arrived. The rise of this extraordinary man is variously related by different authors. Some assert that he was apprentice to a pastry-cook, and sold pies in the streets of Moscow; that Peter, once stopping to converse with him, was so struck with his ready wit and quick repartees, that he took him into his service, and advanced him, by rapid promotions, to the height of favour which he afterwards enjoyed: others declare, that he was the son of a groom belonging to the court, and was casually placed about the person of the emperor*. Both these accounts, however contradictory to each other, sufficiently show the lowness and uncertainty of his origin; and indeed we need not wonder that the genealogy of an upstart favourite should not be exactly traced. The earliest account upon record concerning him is that, in the year 1687, he was one of the youths† whom Peter I. formed into a corps, and disciplined after the European manner. The young czar was only fifteen years old, and Menzikof, then known by the

* The former opinion, that he was a pastry-cook's boy, seems to be the most probable, as it is preferred by *Weber, Manstein, Bruce.

† Muller's Nachricht von der Ursprünge

des Preobaschenkischen, &c. in Journal of St. Petersburg for March, 1778, p 173.. Fürst Menzikow war einer den ersten Poteschnii. See also Manstein, p. 11.

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name of *Alexasca*, or Little Alexander, about the same age; and as the latter was remarkably active in his exercise, he was observed by Le Fort, and by him recommended to Peter. Several persons of this company were afterwards promoted very high in the Russian service, and many circumstances concurred to forward the advancement of Menzikof. He rendered himself remarkably useful to the czar in his plans of reformation; he paid a particular attention to foreigners, whom Peter was continually drawing into his service; he studied his master's character and temper, and knew how to submit to the grossest insults. "The czar," says Gordon, who was himself an eye-witness, "often kicked him publicly, and beat him like a dog; so that the by-standers concluded him undone; but always next morning the peace was made up, which people believed could not proceed but from some preternatural cause*."

One instance of his implicit obedience to the commands of the czar, and his dexterity in performing them, is recorded by Korb, secretary to the Austrian embassy. It is a well-known fact, that Peter was accustomed to assist at the examination of the prisoners who were accused of high-treason; that he would be present at the tortures inflicted upon them in order to force confession; that he would frequently attend at their execution; that he would sometimes himself perform the office of executioner†; and would occasionally

* Gordon's Life of Peter, vol. II. p. 278. Korb also says, "*Alexascani verò favoriti tam suum, gladio accinctum inter tripudia deprehendens, deponendi gladii morem insidito colapho docuit; cujus impetum sanguis ex naribus abundè defluus fatis testatus est.*" p. 84.

† "*Quinque rebellium capita à nobilissimâ Moscoviâ manu securi esse amputata.*" Korb Diarium, p. 170.

L'Evesque makes the following judicious remarks upon this remarkable circumstance.

"Peut être ces sortes d'executions, dont les grands étaient les ministres, et auxquelles le prince lui-même prenait part, étaient-elles fondées sur quelque usage ou sur quelque loi dont on a perdu le souvenir. Elles étoient réservées, sans doute, pour ces grandes rebellions qui mena-

casionally consign that task to his favourites and principal nobles *. Korb relates, that, soon after the insurrection of the Strelitz in 1698, Peter scornfully reproached many of the nobles who trembled at being compelled to behead some rebels, adding, in a strain of sanguinary justice, "that there was no victim more acceptable to the deity than a wicked man." Menzikof, however, does not seem to have laboured under such delicate feelings; for, as a prelude to the execution of 150 Strelitz, he drove about the streets of Moscow in a sledge brandishing a naked sword †, and boasted of his adroitness in cutting off twenty heads.

"menaçaient l'état et le souverain. La noblesse, en frappant elle-même les coupables, prouvait qu'elle avoit horreur de leur complot; et le prince grièvement offensé, se réservait quelque part à la vengeance. Ce qui semble confirmer ce sentiment, c'est que Pierre punit les Strelitz de la même manière, que le tsar Ivan s'était vengé des nobles qui lui étaient suspects. Ce rapport entre le crime et la punition prouve qu'elle ne dépendait seulement du caprice du souverain. Pierre, dirait-on, devait abolir cet usage. Mais pouvait-il changer si promptement les coutumes, les loix, sa nation & lui-même." Vol. IV. p. 147.

* Gordon mentions the same circumstance, but he only says "that several of the great men, whom the tzar suspected to have been engaged in this conspiracy, he caused to take the axe into their hands, and obliged them to cut off the heads of some others of the conspirators." Vol. I. p. 130. Korb mentions, among others, the names of Blumberg and Le Fort, whom the tzar desired to become executioners, but who excused themselves.

"Quotquot Bojarinorum & magnatum concilio intererant, quo contra rebelles Strelizios certamen decretum est, hodiebus dies ad novum vocavit tribunal, singulis singuli rei propositi; quemvis oportebat sententiæ, quam dictaverat, secum exequi." Princeps Romadonowski, antequam tu-

"multuarentur, quatuor regiminum dux quatuor Strelizios urgente majestate eodem ferro ad terram prostravit; crudelior Alexasia de viginti deussis capitibus gloriabatur; infelix Gallizin, quod male ferendo dolores damnati multum adauxerit, 330. Unâ simul educti ad feralem securis ictum latè patentem planitium civili quidem, sed impio sanguine purpurarunt. Ad idem lictoris officium cum Barone de Blumberg Generalis Le Fort invitabatur; sed excusantes, id domi suæ moris non esse, auditi sunt. Ipsemet tzarus in sella sedens totam tragediam, tan que horrendam tot hominum laniemam hecic oculis inspectabat, hoc unum indignatus, quod Bojarinorum plurimi insueto huic muneri tremulas manus admovissent; cum tamen nulla pinguior victima Deo martari possit, quàm homo sceleratus." p. 88, 89.

And again: "Quivis incertum librabat ictum, novo et insolito muneri tremulas manus admovens, infelicissime omnium feriebat Bojarinorum ille, qui abruerant in collo gladium in teigus miserat, et Strelizio sic in medium feracè dissecto, dolores ad desperationem auxisset, nisi Alexasia securi melius insensu rei collum tetigisset." Ibid. p. 172.

† *Quædam alibi eo tempore scripserat Alexander, carpendo per omnia verba consilio rectè, crudelissimè nobis casu ostentationem, quam sanguinolentiam crassius dici tragediam expectaret.*

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But it was not merely by acts of buffoonery and cruelty that he acquired the esteem and confidence of Peter, but by his superior abilities, both as a statesman and a soldier *. Being chosen for the companion of his travels into foreign parts, he was, in 1706, created prince of the German empire, and was rapidly elevated to the highest employments both in the civil and military line. On particular occasions he was even permitted to personate his sovereign, by giving publick audience to foreign embassadors; while Peter, averse to the pomp of royalty, appeared as a private person in his suite. So great indeed was the ascendancy which this favourite acquired over the emperor (an ascendancy confirmed and maintained by the influence of Catharine †), as to give rise to a report among the Russians, that he had fascinated by witchcraft the mind of his master.

Upon the death of Peter his power was still more unbounded. Catharine, who was chiefly indebted to his intrigues and abilities for her elevation to the throne, gratefully resigned to him the sole administration of affairs, and she may be called the ostensible, while he was the real sovereign ‡. His authority continued undiminished to the moment of her decease; and the clause in her will §; by which she ordered her successor Peter II. to espouse the prince's daughter, was at once a proof of his ascendancy, and her gratitude.

* At the battle of Pultawa he had three horses shot under him.

† Catharine more than once prevented Menzikof's disgrace, which had been inevitable without her intercession. Bassevitz in Busc II. M. IX. p. 294.

‡ "Le gouvernement," says Count Munich, "n'étoit autre chose que le vouloir despotique du Prince Menzikow." Ebauche, &c p. 63.

§ Gordon supposes that this will was forged by prince Menzikof: a supposition for which there is not the least proof. We must distinguish between those parts of Gordon's history, which relate to events while he was in Russia, and the others which he wrote after he quitted that country in 1711. He speaks worse of prince Menzikof than he seems to deserve, and particularly arraigns his courage.

His intrigues and power, his ambition and arrogance, his disrespectful behaviour to Peter II.* and the peculiar circumstances of his disgrace, are all related in the *Memoirs of Manstein* †, a book which cannot be too highly commended as an authentick and impartial work.

Two days before his fall the prince repaired to his palace of Oranienbaum for the dedication of a chapel, having previously invited Peter II. to be present at the ceremony; the latter however excusing himself, under pretence of indisposition, the chapel was consecrated; and it did not escape notice, that Menzikof seated himself on a throne which had been raised for the emperor.

Being arrested, in the month of September, 1727, he was imprisoned at Beresof, a small town upon the river Oby, in a wooden hovel enclosed with palisadoes, where he ended his days. He is said to have supported his disgrace with firmness and resignation ‡: he received a daily allowance of ten roubles §, from which he even saved a sufficiency to build a wooden church, and amused himself by assisting the workmen in its construction. He survived his fall about two years and five months, dying in the month of November, 1729, of a repletion of blood ||.

* Munich gives, amongst others, the following instances of his arrogance: "Lorsqu'il écrivoit au jeune empereur il le traitoit de fils et sous-signoit la lettre: Votre Pere Menschikow. Aux eglises il se mettoit à la tribune de l'Empereur," &c. Ebauche, &c. p. 67.

† P. 2 to p. 13.

‡ Manstein, p. 10. Weber, on the contrary, asserts, that he was wretched and impatient, and became so weary of his existence, as to refuse all nourishment, and could be prevailed upon to swallow nothing but water. Having continued in this state a few days without uttering a single word, he expired on the 2d of November, 1729.

The authority of Manstein, however, is in this instance to be preferred to that of Weber; as he had frequent opportunities during his residence in Russia of making inquiries concerning the death of prince Menzikof, after his family had been released by the empress Anne. Whereas Weber had quitted Russia before that period; and he inserts his account of the prince's death merely as a report, "und man meldete 'damals,'" &c. Ver. Russ. v. III. p. 178.

§ L2.

|| See Schmidt *Materialien*, &c. who has collected every thing relating to prince Menzikof, p. 218, &c.

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The wife of Prince Menzikof was so affected with her husband's disgrace, that she became blind with weeping, and expired on the road to Beresof. His daughter, who had been betrothed to the emperor, died before her father in prison; and the remaining part of his family, consisting of a son and a daughter, were released on the accession of the empress Anne. The daughter was married to Gustavus Biren, brother to the duke of Courland; and the son was promoted in the army by the same empress. A grandson of prince Menzikof is now living: he is an officer in the Russian army, and inherits only the name, but none of the riches or power of his grandfather.

Soon after the fall of Menzikof, his palace was converted into an hospital for sailors; but was afterwards chosen by Peter III. for his favourite residence. The middle part of the edifice is the same as erected by Menzikof, and consists of two stories, containing a range of small apartments: the emperor added the wings, which are long buildings of one story.

Having passed through the palace, in which there was nothing worthy of remark, we went to the fortress. In our way we did not omit observing a model in miniature of a citadel, which Peter III. when he first contracted a fondness for military studies, ordered to be made for the purpose of learning practical fortification. A little further we came to the fortress, which is surrounded with a ditch and rampart, and strengthened with bastions. It was raised by the late emperor when he was great-duke, and contains a building called by him the governor's house, which he generally inhabited himself, and into which he admitted only his officers and favourites, while his court resided in the palace.

place. Near it were barracks for a small garrison, a few wooden houses for the principal officers, and a small Lutheran chapel, where his Holstein soldiers assembled for divine service. CHAP.
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The governor's house is a brick building stuccoed, seven or eight windows in front, consisting of about eight small rooms. It remains exactly in the same state as during the life-time of the emperor, neither the furniture nor the bed in which he slept the night preceding his deposition being removed. It had a white satin coverlet, and was on a large four-post bedstead, with curtains of pink and silver brocade, and ornamented at the top with a plume of red and white feathers. Adjoining to this apartment is a neat cabinet, hung with light brown silk, upon which were several figures worked by the empress.

From the fortress we were conducted to a large gallery of pictures, collected by the same emperor. Among several portraits of that unfortunate prince, one was pointed out to us as a striking resemblance: he is painted in his Holstein uniform; the complexion is fair, and the hair light; there is no expression in the features, and the countenance has a very effeminate look.

In the garden is an elegant pavilion, constructed by order of the empress when she was great-duchess; it contains eighteen apartments, each furnished in different tastes, namely the Greek, Turkish, Chinese, &c. and is situated in the midst of a thick wood: its approaches being circular, we had not the least glimpse until we arrived at it; and as it generally causes an emotion of surprize, it has, for that reason, received the appellation of *Ha!*

Peterhof is at the distance of about seven miles from Oranienbaum, and twenty from the capital: the palace was be-

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gun by Peter I. and finished by Elizabeth. It is seated upon an eminence, and commands a superb view of Cronstadt, Petersburg, the intervening gulf, and the opposite coast of Carelia: it is magnificently furnished; and the suite of apartments princely. The presence-chamber is ornamented with the portraits of the sovereigns of the house of Romanof, who have reigned over Russia since the year 1613. The most conspicuous amongst them was a whole length of the present empress, as she made her triumphant entry into Petersburg the evening of the revolution which placed her upon the throne. She is represented dressed like a man in the uniform of the guards, with a branch of oak in her hat, a drawn sword in her hand, and mounted upon a white steed.

The gardens of Peterhof have been celebrated for their taste and elegance, and from the number of jet d'eaus, fountains, basons, cascades, parterres, &c. they have been compared to those of Versailles; and indeed in one respect they are far superior; for the water-works of the latter only play upon particular occasions, while those of Peterhof are perennial. These gardens, which, at the time of their formation, were greatly admired in this country, though not congenial to the taste of the empress, are suffered to remain in their present state; as during summer her majesty principally resides at Sariko-Selo, where the grounds are disposed in a more modern and pleasing manner. I shall not detain the reader with a description of the silver dolphins and gilded statues, which are scattered in great profusion; but I cannot omit mentioning those of two gladiators placed in a bason of water; they are represented, not with the antient weapons, the sword and buckler, but with the more modern instruments of war, a brace of pistols, which as they point to each other

other in threatening attitudes, the water dashes impetuously from the barrels.

Part of the garden lies between the palace and the gulf, and contains, among other buildings, one situated close to the water, which is worthy of particular observation, because it was the favourite retreat of Peter I. As the house and furniture have been preserved with a kind of religious veneration exactly in their original state, we can form some idea of the plain and frugal simplicity in which that monarch was accustomed to live. This house was built soon after his return from Holland, and fitted up in the taste of that country, for which reason it was known by the appellation of the Dutch house : He used also to call it *Monplaisir*, the name by which it is now distinguished.

Being subject to fevers, he was prepossessed that the air from the water was the most wholesome for his constitution; and for that reason constructed this small house close to the Gulf of Finland. It is of brick, of one story, and roofed with iron : the windows reach from the ground to the top; which, added to the length and lowness of the building, give it the appearance of a green-house. The habitable part consists of an hall and six small rooms, which are all furnished in the neatest and plainest manner. The mantle pieces are ornamented with curious old porcelaine, which he greatly prized as being brought into Russia when the com-

* " Le czar prit à Riga une forte attaque de fièvre chaude. Pour s'en remettre, il se logea une huitaine de jours dans un vaisseau. A son avis, l'air des eaux respirerait la santé. Peu de journées passées sans le respirer. Se levant au point du jour, et dinant à onze heures du matin, il avait coutume de faire un somme il après le repas. Un lit de repos pour cet usage était dressé dans la frégate, et il y allait en toute saison. Même lorsqu'il séjour-

" nait en été à Petershoff, l'air des vastes jardins de ce palais lui semblait étouffé, et il couchait à *Monplaisir*, maison, dont les flots de la mer lavent un côté, et dont l'autre confine au grand parc de Petershoff. C'était sa retraite favorite. Il l'avait meublée de tableaux flumens, représentant des scènes champêtres et maritimes, plaisantes pour la plupart." Essevitz, in B. H. M. IX. p. 339.

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munication was first opened with China. The bed-room is small, white-washed, and the floor covered with a coloured sail-cloth. It contains a barrack-bedstead without curtains; and I observed that the sheets were remarkably fine. The galleries on each side, and two small rooms, are hung with pictures of the Dutch and Flemish schools; among these were several portraits of himself under the character of master Peter when he worked at Sardam; and one of his favourite mistress the beautiful Dutch girl.

In the gardens of Peterhof is a very extraordinary building, denominated the Mountain for Sledges, and called also by some travellers the Flying Mountain. It stands in the middle of an oblong area, enclosed by an open colonade with a flat roof, which is railed for the convenience of holding spectators. The circumference of this colonade is at least half a mile. In the middle of the area stands the flying mountain, stretching nearly from one end to the other. It is a wooden building, supported upon pillars, representing an uneven surface of ground, or a mountain composed of three principal ascents, gradually diminishing in height with an intermediate space to resemble valleys: from top to bottom is a floored way, in which three parallel grooves are formed. It is thus used: a small carriage, containing one person, being placed in the center groove upon the highest point, goes with great rapidity down one hill; the velocity which it acquires in its descent carries it up a second; and it continues to move in a similar manner until it arrives at the bottom of the area, where it rolls for a considerable way on the level surface, and stops before it attains the boundary: it is then placed in one of the side grooves, and drawn up by means of a cord fixed to a windlass. To a person unacquainted

quainted with the mechanism, this entertainment would appear tremendous; but as the grooves always keep the carriage in its right direction, there is not the least danger of being overturned. At the top of the mountain is an handsome apartment for the accomodation of the court and principal nobility; there is also room for many thousand spectators within the colonade and upon its roof.

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Near the flying mountain* is a spacious amphitheatre, in which tournaments are usually exhibited.

As I was anxious to visit every remarkable place in the neighbourhood of this city, I did not fail repairing to Schluffelburgh, a fortress often mentioned in the Russian history, and celebrated for the number and rank of the state prisoners who have been there confined.

Schluffelburgh lies at the distance of 40 miles from Peterburgh; the road runs the whole way by the side of the Neva, which flows with a full stream in a broad and winding channel; its banks, which are steep and high, are studded with many villages, and several country houses prettily dispersed and hanging over the edge of the water.

The village of Schluffelburgh, which is situated on each side of the Neva, contains about three hundred wooden houses, and about 2800 inhabitants.

The fortress is built upon a small island of the Neva, at the point where that river issues from the lake Ladoga. The breadth of the stream in that part is about three quarters of a mile, and the current is remarkably rapid.

* Dr. King, in his Essay on the Effects of Cold, has described another kind of Flying Mountain, which was erected at Sariko-

Selo: it was taken down when I saw the place, her present majesty not being so fond of these diversions as the late emperors.

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The origin of this fortress is thus traced by the Russian historians. In 1324 George Danilovitch, great-duke of Moscow, being upon an expedition against Wiburgh, built a small fortress in the middle of this island, which was then called, from its oblong shape, Orekofski Ostrof, or Nut Island; from this appellation the fortress took its name of Orekovetch, which was corrupted into Oreshek. Being besieged and taken by Magnus king of Sweden, the Swedes translated the name into their own language, and called it Noteborg. It again came into the possession of the Russians, who retained it until 1614, when Gustavus Adolphus forced the garrison to capitulate. It was probably since this last period, that the Swedes encircled the whole island with a wall and battlements, the same which subsist at present.

In 1702 Peter advanced to the frontiers of Sweden with a considerable army; and, having made several ineffectual attempts against Noteborg, he sent prince Galitzin, colonel of the guards, at the head of a select corps to take it by storm. That officer having, by means of rafts, landed his soldiers close to the fortifications, which advance almost to the edge of the water, they were received with such cool intrepidity by the garrison, and exposed to so dreadful a carnage, that Peter, conceiving the assault to be impracticable, sent immediate orders for the Russians to retire: Prince Galitzin, however, refused to obey. "Tell my sovereign," added he, "that I am no longer his subject; having thrown myself under the protection of a power far superior to him." Then, turning to his troops, he animated them by his voice and example, and, leading them to the attack, scaled the walls and took the fortress. Peter was so much struck with this exploit, that, upon his next interview with Galitzin, he said to him, "Ask what you chuse, except Moscow and Ca-

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"tharine."

tharine." The prince, with a magnanimity which reflects the highest honour upon his character, instantly requested the pardon of his antient rival prince Repnin, who had been degraded by Peter from the rank of marshal to that of a common foldier : he obtained his request, and with it the confidence of his sovereign, the esteem of Repnin, and the applause of the publick *.

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Peter changed the name of the fortrefs into Schluffelburgh, its present appellation, because, from the importance of its situation, he considered it as the *key*† of his conquests. From this period it has continued in the possession of the Russians : but, since the boundaries of the empire have been considerably extended, it is no longer of that importance as it was when it was situated upon the frontiers of the Swedish territory ; and for its great strength and insulated situation, it has been chiefly used for a state prison.

The island, which lies just midway between the opposite banks, is, as I have before observed, of an oblong shape, scarcely more than 600 yards in length, and 260 in its greatest breadth. The walls, which skirt almost its whole circumference, are constructed with stone and brick, about fifty feet in height, and from eleven to twenty thick, and are strengthened according to the antient mode of fortification, with battlements and eight round towers. We passed over a draw bridge into the fortrefs, which we examined, but without being permitted to enter any of the wards wherein the prisoners are confined. A range of corridors open on the inner side encloses a large area, and contains several dungeons for the prisoners. We observed the

* I received this anecdote from one of the descendants of Prince Galitzin, and its truth was confirmed by many Russian noblemen.

† Schluffel in German signifies a key : and Peter affected to give many places a German appellation.

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windows of these dungeons closed with brick, leaving towards their top only a vacant space of a few inches square, which admits so little light, that the unfortunate inhabitants have only a kind of twilight gloom. In the middle of the area is the governor's house, and a small wooden cottage, wherein a state prisoner was confined. Further on we entered through a portcullis-gate into the interior fortress, which was built by George Danivolitch in the year 1324: it is about 140 feet square, open at top, with stone walls remarkably high. Within we observed a brick house of one story, which reaches from one side to the other, and contains eleven rooms, each about seventeen feet by twelve. It is still unfinished, the floors not being laid down, and has never been inhabited. This house was built by order of the late emperor Peter III. with such expedition, that it was begun and brought to its present state in less than six weeks; but his deposition put an immediate stop to its progress. The construction of so large a building in so secure a place, and in such a small space of time, has always been deemed a mystery; but there is every reason to suppose that he intended it for his consort the present empress, whom it is now well known he had determined to divorce and imprison.

That misguided and unfortunate prince came a few weeks before his deposition to Schlüsselburgh, to see prince Ivan, when he examined this house with great attention, and seemed satisfied with the expedition of the workmen*.

* Busching supposes that Peter constructed a house for prince Ivan in the fortress of Schlüsselburgh. This can mean no other house than that described in the context, which I am convinced was designed for the empress; but Busching probably

did not know that Ivan was removed to Kexholm the beginning of June. Busching, vol. VI. p. 531.

See the account of prince Ivan in Book V. Chap. II, in the next volume.

Several state-prisoners of high rank have been confined in this fortress; amongst the most remarkable are the following: Maria*, sister of Peter the Great; Eudocia† first wife of the same monarch, who was *here* imprisoned in one of the most gloomy cells. Count Piper, minister to Charles XII. who was taken at the battle of Pultava, died *here* after a lingering captivity. Biren duke of Courland, favourite of the empress Anne, and regent of Russia, *here* exchanged the pomp of palaces for a loathsome dungeon; and the ill-fated Ivan, after an

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* Maria was imprisoned upon suspicion of being concerned with Alexey; was again released, and died at Peterburgh in 1723.

† Eudocia was married, in 1689, to Peter the Great, then only in the 18th year of his age; and was delivered of Alexey in 1690. Her opposition to Peter's plans of reformation, and her repeated remonstrances against his intemperance, occasioned her divorce, which took place in 1696; when she was compelled to assume the veil, and was confined in a convent at Suzdal. During her residence in that convent, she is reported to have contracted a connection with a general Glebof, and even to have entered into a contract of marriage by exchanging rings with him. Encouraged by the predictions of the archbishop of Rostof, who, from a dream, announced to her the death of Peter, and her immediate return to court under the reign of her son Alexey, she assumed her secular dress, and was publicly prayed for in the church of the convent under the name of the empress Eudocia. Being brought to Moscow in 1718, and examined, she was, by order of her inhuman husband, scourged by two nuns, and imprisoned in the convent of New Ladoga, without being suffered to see any one but the persons who brought her food,

which she dressed herself, for she had no servant to do the most filthy offices, not more than one cell for her person. See Letters from a Lady in Russia, p. 46. From thence she was removed to the fortress of Schintselburgh. Being released upon the accession of her grandson Peter III. she repaired to Moscow, was present at his coronation, as well as that of the empress Anne, and expired in the nunnery of Devitz, where she held her court, in 1731, in the 59th year of her age ‡.

This princess, though certainly a weak woman, perhaps was not so guilty as she was represented by Peter. Mrs. Vigor, who saw and conversed with her at Moscow in the year 1731, assures us, that Glebof “underwent such repeated tortures, as it was thought no creature could have borne, with great constancy, persisting in his own and her innocence during his tortments. At last the czar himself came to him, and offered him pardon if he would confess. He spit in the czar's face, and told him, he should disdain to speak to him, but he thought himself obliged to clear his mistress, who was as virtuous a woman as any in the world,” &c. See Ibid. p. 44. See Voltaire, Schmidt, &c.

‡ Schmidt, Gen. Tab. in his Russ. Gef.

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untimely death.

These melancholy ideas, heightened by the dreadful gloom, the dead silence, and the awful appearance of a few solitary centinels, communicated such an impression as will not easily be obliterated; and even at this distance of time and place, I shudder at the recollection of a Russian state-prison.

C H A P. VII.

Of Catharine I.—Her origin and early adventures.—Married to a Swedish dragoon.—Captured by the Russians.—Becomes the mistress, consort, and successor of Peter the Great.—Death of that monarch without appointing his successor.—History of Catharine's elevation to the throne.—Her death and character.

MANY authors have expressed great surprize at the CHAP. VII. contradictory reports relative to the origin of so extraordinary a personage as Catharine I. But when we consider the lowness of her extraction, the variety of uncommon adventures which befel her during the early period of her life, her equivocal situation with general Bauer and prince Menzikof, before her connection with Peter the Great ; and that she did not excite the publick curiosity until she became the favourite of that emperor, when she and her friends could prevent, as much as possible, all inquiries into her former situation ; I am so far from being surprized that we know so little, that I rather wonder we know so much about her birth and early adventures. To expect that the history of a person of low extraction, who gradually rose to the most exalted station, should contain no uncertain and discordant accounts, is to expect impossibilities. All that remains, therefore, is, without prejudice or partiality, to examine and compare the various histories of Catharine I. and to collect from the whole the most rational and probable narrative.

Catharine was the natural daughter* of a country girl ; and

* I shall here say a few words concerning the authors from whom I have principally extracted this account of Catharine I. The first and most authentic of these is Weber.

1. Weber was the Hanoverian resident at Petersburg during part of the reign of Peter I. and took extraordinary pains to obtain the best information relative to the origin of Catharine. He learnt the Russian language of Wurmb, who had been tutor to Gluck's children at the time when Catharine was in that minister's house at Marienburgh, and who was at Petersburg in 1714 : from him, therefore, he was able to obtain the most authentick intelligence. Can we wish for more accurate information ? Weber may possibly have been mistaken in a few trifling incidents, but his narrative upon the whole is to be depended upon. See *Vanderdantes Russland*, Vol. III. p. 7—10.

2. La Motraye, in his *Travels*, has given a short account of Catharine's family, &c. Among other intelligence, he collected much information from a Livonian girl, who had been sold by the Russians to the Turks, and whom he bought in Turkey of the Janizaries : this girl knew Catharine at Marienburgh, and told him several particulars relating to her, which were afterwards confirmed to him in Livonia. The account of La Motraye corresponds with that of Weber in the principal events, differing only in a few trifling points.

3. Bruce has also given an account of the origin of Catharine in his *Memoirs* lately published, which he relates as he heard it told by those who knew her from her infancy. His narrative corresponds, upon the whole, with that of Weber in all essential circumstances. In the course of this inquiry I shall point out one or two immaterial instances wherein they differ.

These three persons are the principal authors, who were in Russia towards the beginning of this century, and who collected information upon the spot : we may therefore rely upon them with more safety than upon later authors ; and they all agree in

confirming the lowness of her birth and her marriage with the Swedish dragoon.

Voltaire, in his *Life of Peter I.* has slightly passed over the early adventures of Catharine : he mentions nothing of her birth, her marriage with the Swedish soldier, as circumstances derogatory from the honour of the mother of the empress Elizabeth, by whose desire he wrote the *Life of Peter the Great*. But, willing to ennoble the family of Catharine I. he records a strange story, which has all the air of a romance, of a brother of Catharine, named Scavronski, who was found to be the son of a gentleman of Lithuania. Voltaire cites for his authority "le manuscrit curieux d'un homme qui etait alors au service du czar & qui parle comme temoin ;" but without mentioning his name.

From Voltaire many succeeding authors have advanced that Catharine was of the family of Scavronski ; and it is certain that the empress Elizabeth acknowledged that family as her relations, and conferred several honours upon its members.

This anecdote concerning Scavronski is positively contradicted by a passage in Bassovitz, who assisted Menzikof in raising Catharine to the throne, and who must have known if any brother of Catharine had been at Petersburg during the life of Peter. He asserts, that Catharine did not produce any of her relations during Peter's life : that after his death a person made his appearance at Petersburg as her brother, under the name of count Hendrikof ; that he lived in obscurity during the reigns of Peter II. and Anne ; and that Elizabeth made his son a chamberlain. *Buching IX. p. 295.*

Weber also upon this head relates, "that a near relation of Catharine came to Petersburg with his family, consisting of three sons and two daughters. He was called count Ikaoronski" [certainly the same as Scavronski] ; "the eldest daughter Sophia was taken by the empress to be her maid of honour ; the other children were educated by their father. The ar-

rival

and was born at Ringen, a small village upon the Lake CHAP,
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"rival of *these strangers* gave rise to many reports concerning the origin of Catharine; that her father, whose name was said to be John Rabe, was a quartermaster in a Swedish regiment; that her mother was the daughter of a town-secretary of Riga, and was delivered in 1682 of Catharine. The widow, after her husband's death, went to her relations at Riga, but dying soon afterwards, Gluck took the foundling into his family. These reports, which began to circulate, occasioned a public decree, forbidding all persons, upon pain of death, from uttering disrespectful expressions against the late emperor, or the reigning empress and her family." Ver. Russ. vol. III. p. 76.

We may indeed take it for granted, that if Catharine's family had been nobly descended, the secret would have been discovered during the life of Peter, and have been favourably received by that emperor, who was prevented by the *obscurity of her birth* from carrying her with him to Paris, not willing to expose her to any insult: "Il ne vouloit pas l'exposer, dit-on, aux rebuts qu'il craignoit pour elle, *c'est l'obscurité de sa naissance*, de la délicatesse Française." Bassévitz in Bus. Mag. IX. p. 316.

An Austrian envoy, who was at Peterburgh in 1725, and wrote an account to his court of her accession to the throne, says, "that she was a natural daughter of a Livonian nobleman, whose name was Alvendhel; that her mother afterwards married a rich peasant, from whom she had a son and a daughter: that the former was put to death by Peter for openly declaring himself to be the brother of Catharine; and that the sister received for some time a pension of 300 roubles from the empress; but was afterwards confined in a house of correction during the reign of Peter I. by Catharine's desire." He adds, "that Catharine was brought up in Gluck's house;

"that she became the mistress of Tiesenhausen, a captain of a Swedish troop, by whom she had a son; that he afterwards gave her in marriage to a dragoon of his troop, with whom she lived three years; until she was taken prisoner at Narva by the Russians." But this minister, who is well informed in what relates to the latter part of Catharine's life, and the means by which she ascended the throne, seems to have retailed many idle reports about her family and early history. Bus. Hist. Mag. XI. p. 48.

Before I close this note I must necessarily mention the opinion of Busching, who, during his residence at Peterburgh, collected a considerable degree of authentick information upon the various parts of the Russian history: amongst others, he has given anecdotes of Catharine I. which he opens by saying, "all the accounts which writers have hitherto given, or rather conjectured, of the birth and family of Catharine I. are false." Ibid. III. p. 190. He says, that her family was from Lithuania, her father's name was Samuel, her brother was count Charles Scavronski, one sister was Christina married to count Simon Hendrikof, and the other, whose name was Anne, to Michael Yefimofski. He confirms her marriage with the Swedish dragoon, but places the scene at Frankstadt in Poland, and not at Marienburgh. He informs us, that he obtained this information from an old lady whose name he conceals, who died lately at Peterburgh, and who knew Catharine from her first appearance in Russia, and was greatly in that empress's favour. He adds also, an account of an officer who brought Catharine's sister Anne from Lithuania to Peterburgh. With great deference, however, to so respectable an authority, we cannot, merely upon this hearty evidence, set aside the testimonies of Weber, La Motte, and Bruce: this story seems, in effect, the same flying report as that in Voltaire; and the lady who gave the intelligence to Busching might

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Wirtzerwe, near Dorpt, in Livonia. The year of her birth is uncertain; but, according to her own account*, she came into the world on the 5th of April, 1689. Her original name was Martha, which she changed for Catharine when she embraced the Greek religion. Count Rosen, a lieutenant-colonel in the Swedish service, who owned the village of Ringen, supported, according to the custom of the country, both the mother and the child, and was, for that reason, supposed by many persons to have been her father. She lost her mother when she was but three years old; and, as count Rosen died about the same time, she was left in so destitute a situation, that the parish-clerk of the village received her into his house. Soon afterwards Gluck, Lutheran minister of Marienburgh, happening in a journey through those parts; to see the foundling, took her under his protection, brought her up in his family, and employed her in attending his children. In 1701, and about the fourteenth year of her age †, she espoused a dragoon of the Swedish garrison of Marienburgh ‡. Many different accounts are given of this transaction: one author § of great credit affirms that the bride and bridegroom remained together eight days after their marriage; another ||, of no less au-

might have been willing to ratify the current report in Elizabeth's time in honour of her friend and patroness Catharine I. It appears, however, as well from this intelligence as from the information of Weber and Bassevitz, that some real or pretended relations of Catharine I. made their appearance at Peterburgh during her reign, that they were acknowledged and promoted by her, and afterwards by Elizabeth, not unwilling, perhaps, to believe, without inquiry, her mother's family to have been nobly descended.

Schmidt, in his *Materialien*, &c. has collected in one point of view great part of the intelligence which relates to Catharine I.

and to him I am greatly obliged for abridging the trouble necessary in such a complicated inquiry.

* Bassevitz in *Busching* IX. p. 375. Some say she was born so early as 1683. *Busching* IX. 481.

† Weber says in her eighteenth year; but if, according to her own account, she was born in 1689, she was only thirteen.

‡ Wurmb assured Weber, that during her residence at Marienburgh she was a pattern of virtue and good behaviour, which contradicts the report that she had been a common woman in Livonia.

§ Weber.

|| Bruce, p. 74.

thority,

thority, asserts, on the contrary, that the morning of the nuptials, her husband being sent with a detachment for Riga, the marriage was never consummated. Thus much is certain, that the dragoon was absent when Marienburgh surrendered to the Russians; and Catharine, who was reserved for a higher fortune, never saw him more *.

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General Bauer †, upon the taking of Marienburgh, saw Catharine among the prisoners; and, being smitten with her youth and beauty, took her to his house, where she superintended his domestick affairs, and was supposed to be his mistress. Soon afterwards she was removed into the family of prince Menzikof, who was no less struck with the attractions of the fair captive: with him she lived until 1704,

* What became of her husband is unknown.

Weber says, that Catharine, for some time after she lived with prince Menzikof, used to inquire about her husband, and that she sent him occasionally, though privately, small presents; and that, in 1705, he was killed in a skirmish.

Gordon says, that on the day of his marriage he was killed in an encounter, for from that time he was never heard of. Vol. II. p. 255.

Motraye, who made many inquiries about him, concludes by saying, he could be assured of nothing from the common report of the country concerning the fate of this new-married man, it being so variously related.

† Weber relates, that marshal Sheremetof was the general who first brought Catharine into Russia. I should certainly have submitted to his authority, if Bruce had not asserted that general Bauer was the person.

Bruce begins his narrative by saying "as general Bauer was the person by whose means the empress Catharine arrived afterwards to so great an height:" and

Bruce's authority must be preferred in this instance, because he probably obtained his information from his uncle general Bruce, who was intimately acquainted with general Bauer, and could not be mistaken in this fact.

Perhaps this contradiction may be reconciled by considering, that although marshal Sheremetof commanded the Russian army in Livonia, yet, as general Bauer was the next in command, he might either have headed the party which entered Marienburgh, or have taken the fair prisoner under his protection. Persons have doubted whether she were really the mistress of general Bauer: but when Bruce says general Bauer "gave immediate orders for her safety and reception into his house, of which he gave her the whole charge, with authority over all his servants, by whom she was very much beloved from her manner of using them; the general afterwards often said, his house was never so well managed as when she was with him," p. 75. We can have no doubt of the fact, as otherwise a general would hardly place a girl under sixteen at the head of his household.

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when, in the seventeenth year of her age, she became the mistress * of Peter the Great, and won so much upon his affections, that he espoused † her on the 29th of May, 1711. The ceremony was secretly performed at Jawerof in Poland, in the presence of general Bruce; and on the 20th of February, 1712, it was publicly solemnized with great pomp at Petersburg.

Catharine, by the most unwearied assiduity and unremitting attention, by the softness and complacency of her disposition, but, above all, by an extraordinary liveliness and gaiety of temper, acquired a wonderful ascendancy over the mind of Peter. The latter was subject to occasional horrors, which at times rendered him gloomy and suspicious, and raised his passions to such an height, as to produce a temporary madness. In these dreadful moments Catharine was the only person who durst venture to approach him, and such was the kind of fascination ‡ she had acquired over his senses, that her presence had an instantaneous effect; and the first sound of her voice composed his mind and calmed his agonies. From these circumstances she seemed necessary, not only to his comfort, but even to his very existence: she became his inseparable companion on

* Weber writes, that the emperor first saw her as she was carrying some dishes through the hall: the Austrian minister says she was laundress to prince Menzikof; that at the close of an entertainment at the prince's, when the emperor and company were intoxicated, she was recommended to Peter, &c. Busching XI. p. 482.

† Gordon says, that she had several children by the czar before he espoused her, particularly the princess Anne. The czar, he adds, was married to her in 1710. Life of Peter, Vol. II. p. 258.

Weber only relates, that the marriage, which was before kept secret, was made publick in 1711. Voltaire places the secret

marriage in 1707.

The following passage, however, in Bruce's Memoirs, is absolutely decisive.

"On the 17th (May, 1711) we arrived at Warsaw, and at Jawerof on the 29th, where we found the czar and czarina, and they were privately married, at which ceremony the general was present; and upon this occasion he was made master-general of the ordinance, in the room of the prince of Melita, who died a prisoner in Sweden," p. 36.

‡ "Elle avait un ascendant sur ses sens, qui tenait presque du prodige." Bassewitz in Busch. IX. 294. See also the first note to p. 409 of this work.

his journeys into foreign countries, and even in all his military expeditions. CHAP.
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The peace of Pruth, by which the Russian army was rescued from certain destruction, has been wholly attributed to Catharine, though she was little more than an instrument in procuring the consent of Peter. The latter, in his campaign of 1711 against the Turks, having imprudently led his troops into a disadvantageous situation, took the desperate resolution of cutting his way through the Turkish army in the night. With this resolution he retired to his tent in an agony of despair, and gave positive orders that no one should be admitted under pain of death. In this important juncture the principal officers and the vice-chancellor Shaffirof * assembled in the presence of Catharine, and drew up certain preliminaries in order to obtain a truce from the grand vizier. In consequence of this determination plenipotentiaries were immediately dispatched, without the knowledge of Peter, to the grand vizier, and a peace obtained upon more reasonable conditions than could have been expected. With these conditions Catharine, notwithstanding the orders issued by Peter, entered his tent, and prevailed upon him to sign them: Although the honour of this peace, says Gordon, was wholly attributed to Catharine, yet, as he justly remarks, the generals, together with the vice-chancellor Shaffirof,

* Motraye attributes the principal success of the negotiation with the grand vizier to the vice-chancellor Shaffirof: "It was solely to his ability, and not to any pretended presents of the czarina, that the czar owed his deliverance at Pruth. I was well informed by the Pacha, with whom I was then, and by other Turks, even enemies to the vizier, of what passed there, and of the presents which were

"there made. All that the czarina did was to carry to the czar, when he was retired to his tent, and would see none but her, the counsels and methods which that great minister suggested, in order to a treaty, and to induce him to agree to them, and to give him a full power of acting." Motraye's Travels, Vol. III. p. 151, note. See also p. 103.

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had been the main springs that directed this machine. Catharine, however, by her conduct on this occasion, acquired great popularity; and the emperor particularly specifies her behaviour at Pruth, as one of the reasons which induced him to crown her publicly at Moscow with his own hand. This ceremony * was performed in 1724, and, although designed by Peter only as a proof of his affection, was the principal cause of her subsequent elevation.

Some authors have asserted that Peter placed the crown upon her head as a prelude to his future intention in her favour, and even absolutely appointed her his successor; but their assertions are without the least foundation; for no traces were ever discovered that he had made such a disposition, either by will or otherwise: nothing indeed affords a stronger proof of the contrary, than the very manifesto of Catharine's accession, in which she rests her right solely upon her coronation at Moscow, and upon the resolutions of the senate, the clergy, and the body of the generals †. From these considerations, let us inquire by what extraordinary means a woman of her low birth could succeed in setting aside the grandson

* The reader will find a very circumstantial account of the coronation, with all the ceremonies and entertainments, in Bruce, who was himself present. Bruce's Memoirs, p. 351 to 363.

† "Be it known to all and every one by these presents, that it hath pleased Almighty God to take, after a violent sickness of twelve days, from this world the most serene and most powerful prince Peter the Great, emperor, and absolute sovereign of all the Russias, father of his country, and our most gracious lord, in order to raise him to eternal glory.

"The order of succession to the throne of Russia being regulated by his imperial majesty of most glorious memory, in his decree, dated

"the 5th of February, 1722, which was published to the whole nation, and confirmed by the oaths of all the states assembled together; namely, that he or she, whom it should please his imperial majesty to appoint, should succeed to the throne: and accordingly he was pleased that, in the year 1724, his dear consort, our most gracious empress, Catharine Alexievna, should receive, as she did effectually receive, the crown and the sacred inauguration, by reason of the numberless great and important services which she performed for the advantage of the Russian empire; as was sufficiently and amply declared in the manifesto, dated the 15th of November, 1723.

"For which reasons the senate or council of regency, and the sacred synod, in conjunction

grandson of Peter the Great, who was the lineal heir of the Russian empire; and ascend the throne, to which she could have no pretensions but by the express appointment of Peter. Her influence continued undiminished until a short time before the death of that emperor, when some circumstances happened which occasioned such a coolness between them, as would probably have ended in a total rupture if his death had not fortunately intervened. The original cause of this misunderstanding arose from the following discovery of a secret connection between Catharine and her first chamberlain, whose name was Mons. The emperor, who was suspicious of this connection, quitted Petersburg under pretence of removing to a villa for a few days, but privately returned to his winter palace in the capital. From thence he occasionally sent one of his confidential pages with a complimentary message to the empress, as if he had been in the country, and with secret orders to observe her motions. From the page's information the emperor, on the third night, surprized Catharine in an arbour of the garden with her favourite Mons; while his sister Madame Balke, who was first lady of the bed-chamber to the empress, was, in company with a page, upon the watch without the arbour.

Peter *, whose violent temper was inflamed by this discovery, struck Catharine with his cane, as well as the page who endeavoured to prevent him from entering the arbour, and then retired without uttering a single word either to

Mons

"tion with the body of generals, have unanimously ordained, and do notify, by the present printed edict, that all, as well ecclesiastical as military and civil, of all ranks and conditions, be subject and faithful to the most serene and most powerful em-

press Catharine Alexiefna, absolute sovereign of all the Russias." See Dumont Corps Diplom. Vol. VIII. P. II. p. 104.

* Bassevitz and Voltaire relate this transaction in a different manner but neither of them would represent any circumstance tending

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Mons or his sister. A few days after this transaction these persons were taken into custody, and Mons was carried to the winter palace, where no one had admission to him but Peter, who himself brought him his provisions. A report was at the same time circulated, that they were imprisoned for having received bribes, and making their influence over the empress subservient to their own mercenary views. Mons being examined by Peter, in the presence of major-general Ufchakof, and threatened with the torture, confessed the corruption which was laid to his charge. He was beheaded; his sister received five strokes of the knout, and was banished into Siberia; two of her sons, who were chamberlains, were also degraded and sent as common soldiers among the Russian troops in Persia. On the day subsequent to the execution of the sentence, Peter conveyed Catharine in an open carriage under the gallows, to which was nailed the head of Mons: the empress, without changing colour at this dreadful sight, exclaimed, "What a pity it is, that there is "so much corruption among courtiers*!"

This event happened in the latter end of the year 1724, and as it was soon followed by Peter's death, and as Catharine, upon her accession, recalled Madame Balke, it has been suspected that she shortened the days of her husband by poison. But, notwithstanding the critical situation for Catharine in which he died, and her subsequent elevation, yet this charge is totally destitute of the least shadow of proof; for the circumstances of Peter's disorder were too well known, and

tending in the least to criminate Catharine. The Austrian envoy, from whom the above relation is chiefly extracted, says, that he received information of the whole affair from the page sent by Peter, whose name was Prevenich. Busc. Hist. Mag. XI. p. 49.

Bassevitz himself mentions the anecdote of his driving her under the gallows, which seems to imply that Peter certainly thought Catharine guilty of an intrigue with Mons.

* Bassevitz in Busc. Hist. Mag. IX. p. 372.

the

the peculiar symptoms* of his last illness sufficiently account for his death without the necessity of recurring to poison. CHAP.
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Peter having, in the year 1724, decreed that the reigning sovereign should have the power of appointing his successor, ought, in common prudence, to have provided one in case of his sudden death; but he was seized with his last illness before he had performed that necessary duty. The disorder with which he was attacked was a strangury, which at first did not carry with it any alarming symptoms of immediate danger; but suddenly increasing to a violent degree, occasioned such excruciating tortures, as, in a short time, totally deprived him of his senses. In a lucid interval he demanded pen and paper; and endeavoured to write, but he could only trace characters that were not legible. He then called for his daughter Anne, but before she arrived his speech and his understanding entirely forsook him, and he remained in a state of perfect imbecility, but still breathing, for six and thirty hours before he expired †.

From this account, drawn from the most unquestionable authorities, it is evident that he did not appoint his heir: and though some persons have concluded that he purposed

* "Peter," says the Austrian envoy, "had formerly contracted from one of his mistresses a complaint, which on account of his excesses was never completely eradicated; and, upon his drinking, at the ridiculous election of the mock patriarch ‡, an enormous quantity of wine, beer, mead, and brandy, it increased to such a degree as to become incurable; but as there appeared no external symptoms of the complaint, the physicians conceived the disorder to be the stone, and treated it accordingly. By these means the virus at length gradually gained such an height as to form an abscess in the bladder, which, in his last illness, brought on a strangury, that soon

ended in his death. Upon his death-bed he grievously repented of his sins, confessed that he had shed much innocent blood, expressed the greatest concern for his behaviour to his unfortunate son, adding, however, that he hoped God would forgive his sins in consideration of the good he had conferred on his country." Busc. Hist. Mag. XI. p. 496.

Gordon says, "he caught cold, which, with a violent strangury and retention of urine, occasioned by an imposthume in his bladder, put an end to his life on the 28th of January, 1725."

† Bassewitz in Busching IX. p. 373. also Weber Ver. Russ. Vol. II. p. 199.

‡ See an account of this in Bruce's Memoirs.

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entailing the crown upon his grandson Peter II.; yet it is most probable that he had destined his eldest daughter Anne to be his successor; but was prevented by the suddenness of his death from carrying that design into execution*.

But

* I have already given my reasons for adopting this opinion. See p. 516. in the note.

Monsieur Le Clerc, in his *Histoire, Physique, Morale, Civile, et Politique de la Russie Moderne*, asserts, that Peter I. absolutely appointed Peter II. his successor. As the whole passage relative to this *hitherto unknown* anecdote is extremely curious, I shall here insert it, and accompany it with a few observations.

“ Lorsque ce prince (Pierre I.) vit arriver l’instant de sa mort, il fit un dernier effort pour se lever de son lit, et pour écrire l’ordre qui excluait du Trône Catharine I. et qui y plaçoit Pierre II. fils de l’infortuné Alexis. On verra dans la suite de cet ouvrage, les raisons qui déterminèrent Pierre I. à exclure Catharine qui lui avoit été si chère. Nous nous bornons ici à dire que l’ordre étoit écrit lorsqu’il tomba en foiblesse, et qu’il mourut quelques heures après.

“ Pierre I. mourut entre les bras du prince Menzikof, des comtes de Roumentzof et Tolstoë, et de deux majors de gardes—a-Pied nommés Mammonof. Avant d’annoncer la mort de l’empereur, leur premier soin fut de lire ses dernières volontés, et d’opiner sur l’usage qu’ils en devoient faire.

Le prince Tolstoë porta la parole aux autres, et dit: “ Les intentions de Pierre nous sont connues; mais prenons garde à ce que nous allons faire. Pierre II. nous doit haïr, il nous hait; si nous le plaçons sur le Trône, nous serons les premières victimes qu’il immolera à la vengeance de son père.

“ Tolstoë étoit naturellement éloquent et persuasif; et dans cette conjuncture, l’éloquence étoit jointe à la vérité. On fut d’avis de déroger aux intentions de l’em-

“ pereur défunt, et de supprimer l’ordre d’exclusion. Alors les majors de gardes annoncèrent la mort de Pierre I. le regne de Catharine, et les gardes la proclamèrent en triant Oura, selon l’usage du pays. Cette anecdote sûrement est exacte dans tous ses points.” *Hist. Mod. de Russie*, p. 443.

I will frankly own that I must suspend my judgement with respect to the truth of this secret anecdote, exact in all its circumstances, until the ingenious author shall condescend to cite his authority. For as it positively contradicts the relation of Bassowitz, who had so great a share in raising Catharine to the throne; of count Munich, who was so well versed in the political intrigues of the Russian court; and of the Austrian envoy, who was present at Peterburgh during the accession of Catharine; it would require stronger evidence in favour of its authenticity than the mere affirmation of an historian, however ingenious, even if it did not contain many circumstances which seem to be false.

Can Peter be said to have excluded Catharine from the throne by the appointment of Peter II. even supposing that appointment to have formally taken place? Exclusion implies right; and what right had Catharine but from the nomination of Peter? and it does not appear that he had ever formed the most distant views of making that nomination.

The speech of Tolstoë is improbable in itself, and contradicted by the most positive testimony. It is improbable: because though we imagine that Tolstoë, who was a creature of Menzikof, might have hinted to that prince a suggestion to destroy any written appointment of the successor, yet we cannot suppose that he would openly make

But, without dwelling upon facts which are foreign to the present history, let us hasten to the election of Catharine. CHAP. VII.

While Peter was yet lying in the agonies of death, several opposite parties were caballing to dispose of the crown. At a considerable meeting of many among the principal nobility, it was secretly determined, on the moment of his dissolution, to arrest Catharine, and to place Peter Alexievitch upon the throne *. Bassewitz, apprized of this resolution, repaired in person to the empress, although it was already night. "My grief and consternation," replied Catharine, "render me incapable of acting myself: do you and prince Menzikof consult together, and I will embrace the measures which you shall approve in my name." Bassewitz, finding Menzikof asleep, awakened and informed him of the pressing danger which threatened the empress and her party. As

make that proposal before count Romantsof and the two majors, without having first founded them, and endeavoured to gain them over to his purpose.

It is contradicted by the most positive testimony, because it appears from Bassewitz, that, during the several hours in which Peter lay in a state of insensibility, and before he expired, Menzikof had taken all the necessary precautions for the accession of Catharine.

With respect to the order of the exclusion, and the appointment of Peter II. supposed to be written by Peter himself in the midst of his last illness, it is most probable that such an order was never written: for the *dernier effort pour se lever son lit*, &c. is the same alluded to by Bassewitz, from whom it appears that Peter only traced illegible characters; and this state of the case is confirmed by the Hanoverian envoy, Weber, who had no connection either with Menzikof or Bassewitz: *Schrieb auch etliche worte, aber so unleserlich, &c. he wrote a few words, but so illegibly, that no one could make out their meaning.* Veran. Russ. vol. II.

p. 199.

The Austrian envoy also says, that "da er dann etwas aufschreiben wollte, aber vor Schwachheit nicht gekonnt: *he was desirous of writing something, but could not through weakness.*" But. Hist. Mag. XI. p. 496.

Bassewitz asserts, that Peter expired in the arms of Catharine.

"L'Empereur expira entre les bras de son épouse." But. Hist. IX. p. 375.

This is also confirmed by Weber, "Endlich in der Nacht," &c. "At last this great monarch expired without making any will, while the empress threw herself upon her knees, and cried out, "God open thy paradise, and take this great soul unto thyself." Ver. Russ. vol. II. p. 199.

These are the reasons which induce me to doubt whether this secret anecdote of Monsi. le Clerc is as exact in all its circumstances as he asserts it to be.

* Tant qu'on lui savoit un soufle de vie, personne n'osoit l'entreprendre. Telle étoit la force du respect et de la terreur, qu'impria ce héros. Bassewitz, p. 374.

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no time remained for long deliberation, the prince instantly seized the treasure, secured the fortress, gained the officers of the guards by bribes and promises, also a few of the nobility, and the principal clergy. These partizans being convened in the palace, Catharine made her appearance: she claimed the throne in right of her coronation at Moscow; she exposed the ill effects of a minority; and promised, that, "so far from depriving the great-duke of the crown," she would receive it only as a sacred deposit, to be restored to him when she should be united, in another world, to an adored husband, whom she was now upon the point of losing."

The pathetick manner with which she uttered this address, and the tears which accompanied it, added to the previous distribution of large sums of money and jewels, produced the desired effect: at the close of this meeting the remainder of the night was employed in making the necessary preparations to ensure her accession in case of the emperor's death.

Feb. 8,
N. S.

Peter at length expired in the morning of the 28th of January, O. S. This event being made known, the senate, the generals, the principal nobility and clergy, hastened to the palace to proclaim the new sovereign. The adherents of the great-duke seemed secure of success; and the friends of Catharine were avoided as persons doomed to destruction. At this juncture Bassowitz whispered one of the opposite party, "The empress is mistress of the treasure and the fortress; she has gained over the guards and the synod, and many of the chief nobility; even here she has more followers than you imagine: advise therefore your friends to make no opposition as they value their heads." This information being rapidly circulated, Bassowitz gave the appointed signal, and the two regiments of guards, who had been gained by

by a largess* to declare for Catharine, and had already surrounded the palace, beat to arms. "Who has dared," exclaimed prince Repnin, the commander in chief, "to order out the troops without my knowledge!"—"I," returned general Butturlin, "without pretending to dispute your authority, in obedience to the commands of my most gracious mistress." This short reply was followed by a dead silence. In this moment of suspense and anxiety Menzikof entered preceding Catharine, supported by the duke of Holstein. She attempted to speak, but was prevented by sighs and tears from giving utterance to her words: at length, recovering herself, "I come," she said, "notwithstanding the grief which now overwhelms me, to assure you, that, submissive to the will of my departed husband, whose memory will be ever dear to me, I am ready to devote my days to the painful occupations of government, until Providence shall summon me to follow him." Then, after a short pause, she artfully added, "If the great-duke will permit by my instructions, perhaps I shall have the consolation, during my wretched widowhood, of forming for you an emperor worthy of the blood and the name of him whom you have now irretrievably lost."—"As this crisis," re-

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* The Austrian envoy says, that the guards received each £6.

† "The same person asserts, that Catharine, although she secretly rejoiced at Peter's death, played the farce admirably; she ceased not her lamentations and groans; she repeatedly kissed the body; screamed and swooned without ceasing; so that the by-standers, who were not acquainted with the real state of the circumstance, were moved with compassion, while the others could hardly refrain from laughing." *Russ. Hist. Mag.* XI. p. 497.

Bassewitz also relates the grief of the empress, which he, on the contrary, like a true courtier, asserts to have been real. "Insensible à tout autre sentiment, qu'à celui de l'affliction, l'impératrice n'avait pas quitté son chevet de trois nuits." And again,

"Catharine, au lieu de hâter ses pas vers eux et le sceptre, embrassoit vainement son Epoux agonisant, qui ne la connoissoit plus, et ne pouvoit s'en détacher, Ibid. IX. p. 373. et seq.

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plied Menzikof, " is a moment of such importance to the
 " good of the empire, and requires the most mature delibe-
 " ration, your majesty will permit us to confer without re-
 " straint, that this whole affair may be transacted without
 " reproach, as well in the opinion of the present age, as in
 " that of posterity."—" Acting as I do," answered Catharine,
 " more for the publick good than for my own advantage, I
 " am not afraid to submit all my concerns to the judgement
 " of such an enlightened assembly; you have not only my
 " permission to confer with freedom, but I lay my commands
 " upon you all, to deliberate maturely on this important
 " subject; and promise to adopt whatever may be the result
 " of your decisions." At the conclusion of these words the
 assembly retired into another apartment, and the doors were
 locked.

It was previously settled by Menzikof and his party that
 Catharine should be empress; and the guards, who sur-
 rounded the palace with drums beating and colours flying,
 effectually vanquished all opposition. The only circum-
 stance, therefore, which remained, was to give a just colour to
 her title, by persuading the assembly that Peter intended to
 have named her his successor. For this purpose Menzikof
 demanded of that emperor's secretary, whether his late master
 had left any written declaration of his intentions. The se-
 cretary replied, " That a little before his last journey to
 " Moscow he had destroyed a will; and that he had fre-
 " quently expressed his design of making another, but had
 " always been prevented by the reflection, that if he thought
 " his people, whom he had raised from a state of barbarism
 " to an high degree of power and glory, could be ungrate-
 " ful, he would not expose his final inclinations to the insult
 " of a refusal; and that if they recollected what they owed
 " to

“ to his labours, they would regulate their conduct by his intentions, which he had disclosed with more solemnity than could be manifested by any writing.” An altercation now began in the assembly, and some of the nobles having the courage to oppose the accession of Catharine, Theophanes, archbishop of Plescof, called to their recollection the oath which they had all taken in 1722, to acknowledge the successor appointed by Peter; and added, that the sentiments of that emperor delivered by the secretary were in effect an appointment of Catharine. The opposite party, however, denied these sentiments to be so clear as the secretary chose to insinuate; and insisted, that as their late monarch had failed to nominate his heir, the election of the new sovereign should revert to the state. Upon this the archbishop further testified, that, the evening before the coronation of the empress at Moscow, Peter had declared in the house of an English merchant, that he should place the crown upon her head with no other view than to leave her mistress of the empire after his decease. This attestation being confirmed by many persons present, Menzikof cried out, “What need have we of any testament! A refusal to conform to the inclination of our great sovereign, thus authenticated, would be both unjust and criminal. Long live the empress Catharine!” These words being instantaneously repeated by the greatest part of those who were present, Menzikof, saluting Catharine by the title of empress, paid his first obeisance by kissing her hand; and his example was followed by the whole assembly. She next presented herself at the window to the guards, and to the people, who shouted acclamations of “Long live Catharine,” while Menzikof scattered among them handfuls of money *. Thus, says a cotemporary, the empress was raised

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* This account of the election of Catharine is chiefly extracted from Bassewitz, who.

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raised to the throne by the guards, in the same manner as the Roman emperors by the prætorian cohorts, without either the appointment of the people or of the legions*.

The reign of Catharine may be considered as the reign of Menzikof : that empress having neither inclination nor abilities to direct the helm of government ; and she placed the most implicit confidence in a man who had been the original author of her good fortune, and the sole instrument of her elevation to the throne.

During her short reign her life was very irregular : she was extremely averse to business ; would frequently, when the weather was fine, pass whole nights in the open air ; and was particularly intemperate in the use of tokay-wine, in which she often indulged herself to excess †. These irregularities, joined to a cancer and a dropsy, hastened her end ; and she expired on the 17th of May, 1727, a little more than two years after her accession to the throne, and in about the 39th year of her age.

who assisted prince Menzikof in this revolution, and certainly must deserve credit as far as he chose to discover the secret cabals. Some authors relate this event somewhat differently ; but this difference is easily reconciled, and the main facts continue the same. Busching asserts, as he was informed by count Munich, that Peter was no sooner dead, than the senate and nobles assembled in the palace unknown to prince Menzikof. The latter, being informed of the meeting, repaired to the palace, and was refused admittance ; upon which he sent for general Butturlin, with a company of guards ; and, bursting open the door of the apartment in which the meeting was held, declared Catharine empress. Busching, Vol. I. p. 15 ; also Ebauche, &c. p. 50.

The Austrian envoy says, that general Butturlin threatened to massacre the senate if the members did not acknowledge Catharine.

But we have already seen, from the authority of Bassowitz, that many of the nobles, &c. repaired to the palace in opposition to prince Menzikof ; that general Butturlin had high words with prince Reppin and the opposite party ; that prince Menzikof's presence utterly disconcerted them ; and it is probable that both prince Menzikof and Butturlin might have threatened the nobles, which Bassowitz might not chuse to record, as he was willing to make the nomination of Catharine as unanimous as possible : although he says, " C'est ainsi que Catharine saisit le sceptre, qu'elle méritoit à si juste titre."

In a word, these three accounts are easily reconcileable to each other ; they all prove one fact, that Menzikof, either by himself or his agents, by bribes, promises and threats, forced the nobility to proclaim Catharine.

* Austrian envoy in Busching XI. p. 502.

† Bus. Hist. Mag. III. p. 192.

As the deaths of sovereigns in despotick countries are seldom imputed to natural causes, that of Catharine has also been attributed to poison; as if the disorders which preyed upon her frame were not sufficient to bring her to the grave. Some assert, that she was poisoned in a glass of spirituous liquor; others by a pear given her by general Diever. Suspicions also fell upon prince Menzizof, who, a short time before her decease, had a trifling misunderstanding with her, and who was accused of hastening her death, that he might reign with still more absolute power during the minority of Peter II. But these reports deserve not the least credit, and were merely dictated by the spirit of party, or by popular rumour.

Catharine was in her person under the middle size, and in her youth delicate and well formed, but inclined to corpulency as she advanced in years. She had a fair complexion, dark eyes, and light hair, which she was always accustomed to die with a black colour*. She could neither read nor write†; her daughter Elizabeth usually signed her name for her, and particularly to her last will and testament; and count Osterman generally put her signature to the publick decrees and dispatches. Her abilities have been greatly exaggerated by her panegyrists. Gordon, who had frequently seen her, seems, of all writers, to have represented her character with the greatest justness, when he says, "She was a very pretty well-lookt woman, of good sense,

* Busching says, "Ihr schwarzes haar war nicht natuerlich, sondern gefaerbt," &c. Hist. Mag. vol. III. p. 190.

"Her black hair was not natural but coloured. On her first rise the coarseness of her hands proved that she had been used to hard labour, but they gradually grew whiter and whiter." These circumstances we may readily believe, because the lady from whom Busching received the information could easily know whether Ca-

tharine's hair was black, or her hands coarse, although she might be deceived in what relates to her family.

† Radewitz says, "Elle n'apprit jamais à écrire. La princesse Elizabeth signa tout pour elle, quand elle fût sur le trône même son testament." P. 295.

The Austrian minister says, count Osterman used to sign her name to all the dispatches. Bus. XI. p. 481.

BOOK IV. " but not of that sublimity of wit, or rather that quickness
 " of imagination, which some people have believed. The
 " great reason why the czar was so fond of her, was her
 " exceeding good temper; she never was seen peevish or
 " out of humour; obliging and civil to all, and never for-
 " getful of her former condition; withal, mighty grateful." Catharine maintained the pomp of majesty with an air of ease and gaandeur united; and Peter used frequently to express his admiration at the propriety with which she supported her high station, without forgetting that she was not born to that dignity *.

The following anecdotes will prove that she bore her elevation meekly; and was never, as Gordon asserts, forgetful of her former condition. When Wurmb, who had been tutor to Gluck's children at the time that Catharine was a domestick in that clergyman's family, presented himself before her after her marriage with Peter had been publicly solemnized, she recollected and addressed him with great complacency, " What thou good man, are you still alive! " I will provide for you." And she accordingly settled upon him a pension. She also was no less attentive to the family of her benefactor Gluck, who died a prisoner at Moscow: she pensioned his widow; made his son a page; portioned the two eldest daughters; and advanced the youngest to be one of her maids of honour. If we may believe Weber, she frequently inquired after her first husband, and, when she lived with prince Menzikof, used se-

* " Son épouse était avec lui, étalant, conformément à la volonté du monarque, la pompe impériale, qui le genait; et la soutenant avec un air surprenant de grandeur et d'aisance. Le czar ne pouvait se

" laisser, d'admirer les talens qu'elle possédait, selon son expression, de se créer impératrice, sans oublier qu'elle ne le nâquit point." Basséwitz in Bus. p. 338.
 † Life of Peter, vol. III. p. 258.

cretly to send him small sums of money, until, in 1705, he was killed in a skirmish with the enemy. In a conference with general Schlippenback, who, in 1702, commanded the Swedish army, when she was taken captive by the Russians, she asked him "whether her spouse John was not a brave soldier?" Schlippenback returning, "am not I one also?" Her majesty answered in the affirmative: but, repeating the question, he replied, "yes, please your majesty; and I may boast to have had the honour of having him under my command*."

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But the most noble part of her character was her peculiar humanity and compassion for the unfortunate. Motraye has paid an handsome tribute to this excellence. "She had in some sort the government of all his (Peter's) passions; and even saved the lives of a great many more persons than Le Fort was able to do: she inspired him with that humanity, which, in the opinion of his subjects, nature seemed to have denied him. A word from her mouth in favour of a wretch, just going to be sacrificed to his anger, would disarm him; but if he was fully resolved to satisfy that passion, he would give orders for the execution when she was absent, for fear she should plead for the victim †." In a word, to use the expression of the celebrated Munich, "*Elle étoit proprement la mediatrice entre le monarque et ses sujets ‡.*"

* Busching had this anecdote from a lady who was present at this conference. Hist. Mag. vol. III. p. 190.

† Motraye's Travels, vol. III. p. 131.

‡ Ebauche, &c. p. 54. "She was the mediatrix between the monarch and his subjects."

C H A P. VIII.

Account of Alexèy Petrovitch.—Principles by which Peter justified his exclusion from the throne.—Effects of his bad education.—Dread of his father.—His escape from Petersburg.—His trial and condemnation.—Inquiry into the cause of his death.—History of his wife Charlotte Christina Sophia princess of Brunswick.—Circumstances of her death.—False rumours of her escape and subsequent adventures.

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ALEXEY, the sole fruit of the inauspicious marriage between Peter the Great and Eudocia of Lapukin, was born in the year 1690; and never was the birth of any prince more unfortunate to himself, to his parents, and to his country.

I shall introduce the account of this personage by a translation of a curious letter, written in 1715, from an Austrian envoy at Petersburg to the prime minister at Vienna, which will serve to develop the principles upon which Peter attempted to justify the exclusion of his son from the throne.

“ * In my last I informed your excellency that I had an opportunity of penetrating the sentiments of the tzar; and I shall now acquaint you with the particulars, which will surprize you. Being at dinner last Sunday at the vice-chancellor Shaffirof’s, in company with the tzar, his majesty did me the honour to converse with me upon different topics, when, the discourse turning upon the late king of France, his majesty said, ‘ Certainly France was never governed by a greater man than Louis XIV. nevertheless,’ added he, ‘ when I consider the little care which

* Bus. Hist. Mag. III. p. 185, &c.

" he took to perpetuate the glory of his kingdom after his
 " demise, I have no longer the same esteem for his memory CHAP. VIII.
 " which I have hitherto held for his great and heroick actions.
 " Louis XIV. at his advanced age, could not reasonably have
 " indulged the hope of a much longer life : if, therefore,
 " he discovered in the infant (Louis XV.) his successor any
 " evident marks of a future incapacity to reign, why did he
 " entrust him to the care of a man who will not fail to adopt
 " any means, however desperate, that may tend to secure the
 " throne to himself? Why did he not exclude the duke of
 " Orleans from any share in the regency? Or, if he knew
 " the duke to be a man of a superior genius, as he un-
 " doubtedly is, and his great-grandson, either on account
 " of his tender age or some corporal infirmity, incapable
 " of governing, why did he not declare a person of
 " such abilities as the duke of Orleans his successor? By
 " these means his grand system would have stood un-
 " shaken even by his death; whereas we have now every
 " reason to conclude that France will decline.' I made an-
 " swer, ' that as, according to the fundamental laws of the
 " kingdom, the first prince of the blood is necessarily regent
 " during the king's minority, Louis XIV. could not exclude
 " the duke of Orleans from the regency without breaking
 " the law of succession, which no king of France could ven-
 " ture to infringe,' &c. ' Therefore,' replied the czar, ' a
 " prince, who, by sacrificing his health, and even frequently
 " exposing his life, had at length rendered his country re-
 " spectable and formidable, would, according to your hypo-
 " thesis, be constrained to suffer the fruits of his labours to
 " be destroyed in the hands of a madman, provided he was
 " his nearest relation. I own I am not of your opinion. It is
 " by no means, as it appears to me, sufficient, that a monarch

BOOK IV. " should exert himself to aggrandize his state, and to render it flourishing during his life; but he ought also by
 " wise precautions to perpetuate its glory after his demise,
 " which can in no other manner be effectuated than by appointing an heir who shall be capable, not only to maintain his acquisitions and preserve his establishments, but
 " also to execute the rest of his designs, were he even to select him from the croud of his subjects.' You,' added he,
 " ' would tax a prince with cruelty, who, in order to save his state, which ought to be dearer to him than the blood
 " in his veins, should attempt to alter the succession of his blood; and I, on the contrary, conceive it to be the greatest
 " of all cruelties to sacrifice the safety of the state to the mere right of an established succession. Let us suppose
 " that the successor has not the qualities requisite for a sovereign, a convent, and not a throne, is a proper asylum for
 " weak princes. David, for example, had many sons, but, as he found not in the eldest the qualities which a king of
 " Israel ought to have possessed, he chose the youngest for his successor: God himself approved the choice, instead of
 " blaming him for not paying any regard to pretensions of primogeniture, which was nevertheless highly respected by
 " the Jews. If the gangrene (making me touch at the same time the end of his thumb) attacks my finger, am I not
 " obliged, notwithstanding it is part of my body, to cut it off, or should I not be guilty of suicide?"

" In short, I now comprehend the cause of the law lately introduced by the czar, which adjudges all real estates of a family to one of the male children, but which leaves to the father the absolute power of appointing his heir without considering the right of primogeniture; and I am now
 " convinced

“ convinced that the tzar has in his own mind decreed the
 “ exclusion of his eldest son ; and that we shall one day see CHAP.
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 “ Alexèy with his head shaven thrust into a monastery, and
 “ obliged to pass the remainder of his life in praying and
 “ chanting hymns. Nov. 15, 1715.”

The prophecy of this writer was afterwards fulfilled, though, instead of being shut up in a convent, the wretched prince expired in a prison. The circumstances which occasioned his exclusion and death are well known ; but as we have received them through the medium of his accusers, we ought to be very careful in giving credit to all the charges with which his memory has been stigmatized. One fact * is incontrovertible, that his education was most shamefully neglected, and that he was a stranger to the restraints necessary at his age, until the time of introducing proper habits had almost elapsed. He was committed to the care of women, and to the instruction of the Russian priests, the lowest and most ignorant of men, who instilled into him all the prejudices of their religion, and were continually inveighing against his father for the abolition of many barbarous customs, which they had long considered with a reverential awe. Nor was he released from this wretched species of tuition before the eleventh year of his age, when Baron Hufsen, a man of great merit and ability, was appointed his governor. Under this judicious instructor he seems to have made no inconsiderable progress, and his early prejudices might have gradually worn away ; if prince Menzikof had not contrived to remove from him the only person who was likely to instill into him proper principles of action, and taken upon himself the superintendence of his education.

* See Memoire abrégé sur la vie du tzarevitch Alexei Petrovitch in Bus. Hist. Mag. p. 195.

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But as that prince * scarcely ever saw him, and placed about him the most improper persons, he seems to have intentionally given a full scope to his vicious inclinations, and to have abandoned him to the company of the lowest wretches, by whom he was encouraged to continual ebriety, and to every kind of the lowest excess: yet this designing minister artfully extorted from the tzarovitch, in prison, a confession that he was the only person who had taken any care of his education †.

It appears, from several facts, that Peter had conceived a very early prejudice against his son; and inspired him with such terror, that, in order to avoid drawing before his father, the young prince once discharged a pistol against his right hand. All persons, however, join in condemning the imprudence and obstinacy of Alexèy, which seem to have warped his judgment, and, at times, to have transported him to a degree of insanity. Bruce, who knew him well, gives the following account of his person and manners; and, as he was not prejudiced against him, his testimony must be esteemed more valid than all the laboured accusations of his enemies.

“The czarowitz arrived in Moscow* this winter (1714) where I saw him for the first time. He kept a mean Finlandish girl for his mistress. I went often with the general to wait on him; and he came frequently to the general's house, attended by very mean and low persons. He was very slovenly in his dress; his person was tall, well made, of a brown complexion, black hair and eyes, of a stern countenance, and strong voice.

* Bus. H. M. p. 196.

† L'Evesque makes the following just reflections upon this unaccountable circumstance. “Croira-t-on qu'il ait fait sincèrement & de lui-même l'éloge des soins que Menchikof avait pris de son éducation; lorsqu'on fait d'ailleurs que Menchikof approchait de lui tout au plus trois ou quatre fois par an, & ne lui parlait qu'avec le ton du mépris le plus dur

& le plus outrageant? Si on le contraignit à jouer le favori de Pierre, l'ami de Catharine, ne peut-on pas lui avoir dicté de même tout ce qu'on voulait lui faire dire?” Hist. de Russie, tom IV. p. 442.

This conjecture is greatly strengthened by considering that the eulogium of prince Menzikof was obtained from Alexèy in prison by Tolstoe the creature of Menzikof.

“voice. He frequently did me the honour to talk with me in German, being fully
 “master of that language; he was adored by the populace, but little respected by the
 “superior ranks, for whom he never shewed the least regard; he was always surrounded
 “by a number of debauched ignorant priests, and other mean persons of bad character,
 “in whose company he always reflected on his father’s conduct for abolishing the antient
 “customs of the country, declaring, that as soon as he came to succeed, he should soon
 “restore Russia to its former state; and threatening to destroy, without reserve, all his
 “father’s favourites. This he did so often, and with so little reserve, that it could not
 “miss reaching the emperor’s ears; and it was generally thought he now laid the founda-
 “tion of that ruin he afterwards met with.”

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And again, “It was very remarkable, that the prince never appeared at any of the
 “publick meetings, when his majesty was attended by all persons of quality and rank,
 “such as birth-days, celebrating of victories, launching of ships, &c. General Bruce,
 “who lived next door to the prince, had orders always to give the prince notice the day
 “before of such publick days or meetings, and I had the honour to carry and deliver
 “the message; but his highness, to avoid appearing in publick, either took physick or
 “let blood, always making his excuse, that he could not attend for want of health;
 “when, at the same time, it was notoriously known that he got drunk in very bad com-
 “pany, when he used constantly to condemn all his father’s actions *.”

Being inflamed by continual drunkenness, and worn out by a series of persecutions, he was driven to a state of desperation, and at length, in the year 1716, suddenly renouncing his right of succession in favour of Peter’s son by Catharine, he demanded permission to retire into a convent. But, soon afterwards adopting the advice of his principal adherents, he made his escape to Vienna, where he put himself under the protection of Charles VI. That emperor, in order to shelter him from the resentment of his father, sent him first to Inspruck in the Tyrol, and afterwards removed him, for still greater security, to the castle of St. Elmo at Naples. Being secretly betrayed by his Finlândish mistress, whom he is reported to have married, and influenced by the most solemn promises of perfect forgiveness, he was prevailed upon, by the emissaries of his father, to return to Moscow. Having there solemnly renounced all

* Bruce’s Memoirs, p. 100 & 127.

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right of succession to the crown, he was conveyed to Peterburgh, thrown into the fortress, tried by a select committee, and condemned to suffer death. The acts of his process and condemnation are well known, being put forth by order of the emperor, and are to be found in several publications*.

Whatever prejudices we may have entertained against Alexey, we cannot peruse the trial without being shocked at the cruel and unjust mode with which it was conducted: when his merciless prosecutors eagerly laid hold of every advantage which was afforded by his youth and simplicity; when his Finlandish mistress, who was afterwards pensioned for her attestations, deposed every angry expression against his father which she ever recollected to have fallen from him in the most unguarded moments; when not only his words and actions were brought to witness against him, but his very thoughts were scrutinized, and his own confession †

* Mottley, vol. II. And more circumstantially in Perry, vol. II.

† "On remarque, que dans ce procès on suivait les formes insidieuses de l'inquisition. C'était à l'accusé à chercher laborieusement ses fautes, à faire des efforts de mémoire pour les aggraver. Son innocence dépendait de se déclarer, de se prouver criminel. Un oubli, une réticence innocente ou même louable devenait un crime. Ou plutôt, épié, pressé, surpris de tous côtés, il ne pouvait éviter sa condamnation. S'il taisait ses fautes, son silence le rendait coupable: S'il les dévoilait, il était convaincu par son aveu." L'Esquisse, vol. IV. p. 427.

The reader, I flatter myself, will not be displeased at my introducing to his acquaintance such spirited passages as the one just quoted, and the following upon the deposition of the tzarévitch.

"La simplicité enfantine de toute cette dernière déclaration est précieuse; Elle prouve que le tzarévitch pouvait avoir les vices & la grossièreté d'une mauvaise

éducation, mais qu'il ne pouvait être criminel."

And again, "Mais que serait-ce, si ces aveux les plus forts lui avaient été dictés, arrachés, extorqués? si l'on avait mis à profit sa timidité, sa faiblesse, pour le forcer, à se montrer plus coupable qu'il ne l'était en effet? Si, chaque jour des mauvais traitements nouveaux fatiguaient, domtaient sa patience, & l'obligeaient à faire les aveux qu'on exigeait de lui? si l'on employait même les tortures pour vaincre sa résistance? si ses cris & le bruit des coups qu'il recevait étaient entendus par un prisonnier qui était en même temps dans la forteresse, & qui a dévoilé depuis cet odieux secret? si le tzar lui-même était le spectateur & peut-être le ministre des tourments de son fils? On ne peut s'empêcher de rapporter cette tradition: mais elle afflige l'humanité qui se plaît à la révoquer en doute; elle semble en même temps choquer la vraisemblance." Ib. p. 440, 441.

extorted from him in prison employed to convict him. In- deed many of his own depositions, which tended most to cri- CHAP. minate him, by discovering intentions of rebellion, were not VIII. openly acknowledged, but only signed by him in prison; and a signal difference is remarkable between his confessions during his first examination at Moscow, which was more publick, and those made at Petersburgh, when his trial was chiefly carried on in private before Peter and his immediate confidants; circumstances which seem to prove the infliction of torture.

With respect to the circumstances of Alexèy's death, there are two prevailing opinions; one, advanced in the manifesto of Peter, that he was seized with an apoplectick fit, and died of convulsions, occasioned by the violent passions of his mind and the terrors of death; and the other, that he was secretly executed in prison. And the latter of these seems most entitled to belief, notwithstanding the assertions of Peter, and the apology of his panegyrists, particularly of Voltaire who has supported his innocence with the most plausible arguments.

Of all the accounts of his death, that given by Eufching seems to be the most probable and authentick. This author* positively asserts, that he was beheaded by order of his father, and that marshal Weyde was the person who performed the office of executioner. He received the intelligence from a lady at Peterburgh, named Cramer, who was in high confidence both with Peter and Catharine, and who was employed in sewing the prince's head to his body previous to its lying in state. During my stay at Petersburgh I was at some pains to authenticate this fact, but I found it extremely difficult to obtain any positive information upon so secret a

* Bus. Hist. Mag. vol. III. p. 224. Also Introduction to vol. IX.

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transaction. The most material circumstances I could collect were communicated to me by an intimate acquaintance of the above-mentioned lady; he assured me that he had frequently attempted to converse with her upon the death of Alexèy, but had always found her extremely averse to hold any discourse upon the subject; she seemed exceedingly shocked whenever this topick was introduced; and nothing could be further extorted from her, than that she was the person who prepared the body for the ceremony of its lying in state. This unwillingness of the lady to enter upon the subject, together with her declaration that she prepared the body, seems to add a great degree of confirmation to the account of Busching; and it is not improbable, from the confidential intercourse which subsisted between them, that she might, on some particular occasion, have disclosed to him a state-secret of such moment, which, excepting in this single instance, she invariably concealed.

An additional proof, in favour of the authenticity of this fact, I lately received from an English gentleman, on whose veracity the publick may rely. That gentleman assured me, that he had been informed by prince Cantemir's secretary, with whom he was intimately acquainted abroad, that Alexèy was beheaded in prison. As prince Cantemir was in high favour with Peter, the intelligence of his confidential secretary must carry with it great weight.

This fact appears so well attested, that many of the German historians, who have written upon Russia, have adopted it without reserve; and, in several genealogical tables of the Imperial family, Alexèy is put down as beheaded. A passage, however, in Bruce's Memoirs, seems at first sight to invalidate this concurrent evidence, and to prove that he was
poisoned.

poisoned. This passage is too curious not to be introduced to the reader. CHAP. VIII.

"The trial * was begun the 25th of June, and continued to the 6th of July, when this supreme court, with unanimous consent, passed sentence of death upon the prince, but left the manner of it to his majesty's determination: the prince was brought before the court, his sentence was read to him, and he was re-conveyed to the fortress. On the next day, his majesty, attended by all the senators and bishops, with several others of high rank, went to the fort, and entered the apartments where the tzarovitch was kept prisoner. Some little time thereafter, marshal Weyde came out, and ordered me to go to Mr. Bear's the druggist, whose shop was hard-by, and tell him to make the potion strong which he had bespoke, as the prince was then very ill: when I delivered this message to Mr. Bear, he turned quite pale, and fell a shaking and trembling, and appeared in the utmost confusion; which surprized me so much, that I asked him what was the matter with him, but he was unable to return me any answer; in the mean time the marshal himself came in, much in the same condition with the druggist, saying, he ought to have been more expeditious, as the prince was very ill of an apoplectick fit; upon this the druggist delivered him a silver cup with a cover, which the marshal himself carried into the prince's apartment, staggering all the way as he went like one drunk. About half an hour after, the czar, with all his attendants, withdrew, with very dismal countenances; and when they went, the marshal ordered me to attend at the prince's apartment, and, in case of any alteration, to inform him immediately thereof. There were at that time two physicians and two surgeons in waiting, with whom, and the officer on guard, I dined on what had been dressed for the prince's dinner. The physicians were called in immediately after to attend the prince, who was struggling out of one convulsion into another, and, after great agonies, expired at five o'clock in the afternoon. I went directly to inform the marshal, and he went that moment to acquaint his majesty, who ordered the corpse to be embowelled, after which it was laid in a coffin, covered with black velvet, and a pall of rich gold tissue spread over it; it was then carried out of the fort to the church of the Holy Trinity, where the corpse lay in state till the 11th in the evening, when it was carried back to the fort, and deposited in the royal burying vault, next the coffin of the prince's late consort; on which occasion the czar and czarina, and the chief of the nobility, followed in procession. Various were the reports that were spread concerning his death: it was given out publicly, that on hearing his sentence of death pronounced, the dread thereof threw him into an apoplectick fit, of which he died; *very few believed he died a natural death, but it was dangerous for people to speak as they thought.* The ministers of the emperor, and the states of Holland, were forbid the court for speaking their minds too freely on this occasion, and, upon complaint against them, were both recalled."

* Bruce's Memoirs, p. 185-187.

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From this account it appears that the prince was still alive when Peter, with the nobles and bishops, remained in the fortress, and that he died in the interval between their departure and the afternoon : but it by no means follows, even from this state of the case, that the tzarovitch was poisoned. For, can we suppose that Peter would order a dose of poison to be prepared for his son at a chymist's shop, and that marshal Weyde would openly send for it without the least mystery. May we not rather infer that the potion was most probably a medicine similar to those which had been already prescribed for the prince, who had for some time been extremely indisposed. The fright of the chymist might proceed from his delivering a medicine for the tzarovitch, who was said to be in the agonies of death ; as, in a despotick country, and under such a sovereign as Peter, his own safety might be involved in the event of this catastrophe. The agitation of marshal Weyde will be still more easily and satisfactorily accounted for, if, according to Busching, he was preparing to perform, or had already performed, the execution.

The principal circumstance which seems to contradict the opinion that he was beheaded, is, that if Bruce's narrative is to be depended upon, the prince, when he fell afterwards into repeated convulsions, was visited by the physicians ; and yet, if Busching's account can be relied on, he must have been already beheaded, as marshal Weyde, according to Bruce, had finally quitted the fortress. But it is possible that the physicians, although ordered to attend upon the prince, might be prevented from seeing him ; it is possible that marshal Weyde may have secretly returned to the fortress without the knowledge of colonel Bruce ; it is possible that Bruce himself, as being an intimate friend of marshal Weyde, might

might have been entrusted with the secret, but was unwilling to record, in his Memoirs, so horrid a catastrophe, which was totally repugnant to the manifesto of the emperor: and indeed it plainly appears from his narrative, that he knew more than he chose to discover.

When the secret execution of the heir apparent of a despotick empire becomes the subject of inquiry, it must always be difficult to ascertain the truth; and it would be unreasonable to expect that no contradictory circumstances should occur in the different relations of such a mysterious transaction, when, even in the most common occurrences, no two persons would relate the same event precisely in the same manner.

Catharine is not free from suspicion of being concerned in this horrid affair, as well because her son by Peter was declared successor, as because Tolstoy, to whom the management of the process and the private examination of Alexey were chiefly entrusted, was well known to be a creature of Menzikof, whose interests were closely connected with those of the empress. But this accusation of Catharine could be only a mere surmise, and her interference, if she really interfered, must have been conducted in so secret a manner, as not to have been discovered. Peter himself exculpated her; openly testifying*, that she interceded for his son's life, and requested, that, instead of being put to death, he might be confined in a convent. Not to mention that such proceedings militate strongly against the well-known humanity of Catharine; there was no occasion to irritate the savage temper of Peter, too much inclined to inflict the severest punishment upon his

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son, who had threatened to overturn all his plans of reformation, and to destroy, in a moment, that vast fabrick of glory and power which he had employed many years in erecting. The monarch who could himself attend the infliction of torture, who had occasionally performed the office of executioner, and who had even ordered the first partner of his bed to be scourged, would not require any incitement to command the execution of that son, whom he had publicly treated with the most inhuman ferocity.

The following note, written with Peter's own hand to count Romanzof, who, in conjunction with count Tolstoi, brought the unfortunate Alexèy from Naples, will serve to display the inflexible spirit of that monarch, who forgot the feelings of a father in his anxiety for the publick good.

"I grant you the ranks of major-general and lieutenant-general, and the estates of Alexander Kikin and Kuril Matuskin *, in consideration of the signal service which you have just conferred, not only upon me, but, what is more, upon your country, in bringing back him, who by birth is my son, and, by his actions, the enemy of his father and of his country †."

The wife of Alexèy, Charlotte Christina Sophia, whose fate has already been briefly related, was daughter of Louis Rhodolph of Brunswick-Blankenburgh, and sister of Elizabeth Christina, consort of the empress Charles VI. She was born on the 29th of August, 1694, espoused, on the 25th of October, 1711, at Torgau, the tzarovitch Alexèy,

* Two of Alexèy's unfortunate adherents, who, with many others, were executed upon this occasion.

† This note, which has not yet appeared in print, was communicated to me by a Russian nobleman, who favoured me with a translation from the original.

and in July of the ensuing year made her entrance into Peterburgh *. CHAP. VIII.

Although this amiable princess seems to have been the choice of Alexèy, who saw her at her father's court, yet he always treated her with the utmost neglect; and gave up his whole time and attention to his favourite mistress Euphrosyne, a Findlandish girl of the lowest extraction. It does not, indeed, appear, that the prince treated her in that inhuman manner as is reported by some writers, namely, that he frequently struck her; for even if he had been sufficiently brutal as to have been inclined to such a conduct, he would have been restrained by his apprehensions of his father, who, as well as Catharine, always expressed the strongest compassion for her wretched situation, and showed her constant proofs of his affection and regard. Her husband's unconquerable antipathy seems to have been chiefly derived from his suspicions that she lodged complaints against him to the emperor, who frequently and roughly expostulated with him on this instance of his ill-conduct. Unfortunately her domestick uneasiness was increased by Juliana princess of East-Friesland, who accompanied her into Russia, to whom she used to unbosom her grief and anxiety, and who imprudently fanned the flame instead of endeavouring to quench it.

The fruits of this ill-assorted union were Natalia, who was born at Peterburgh in 1714, and died at Moscow in 1728; and a prince, afterwards the emperor Peter II. who was brought into the world on the 23d of October, 1715.

* This account of the princess is chiefly taken from Muller's "Von der Prinzessin von Wolfenbüttel als ver Mahlten russif-

"chen Kronprinzessin." in *Bef. Hef. Mag.* XV. p. 234.

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A few days after the prince's birth, the consequences of her delivery, and the melancholy which had long preyed upon her frame, hurried her prematurely to the grave, and she expired on the 2d of November, in the 21st year of her age. The approach of her death was affecting to all but her husband and herself; and her spirit had been so subdued by affliction, that she considered her dissolution as a welcome release from all her sufferings. Impressed with this sentiment, she said to her physicians, "Do not torment me any more, for I will live no longer*."

On the day which preceded her decease, she dictated the following petition to Peter the Great, which may be considered as her will.

"The most humble and last entreaties from the under-written to his imperial majesty.

I. "His Imperial majesty will order my funeral as he shall think proper. I could wish, nevertheless, that my body may be buried in a place where it may remain undisturbed until the second coming of our Saviour.

II. "Both my beloved children I recommend to the care and affection of his imperial majesty, my gracious father-in-law, that they may be educated according to their birth and station.

III. "I leave my jewels and other valuable things in gold and silver to my children; and a reasonable part of my clothes and linen to my cousin the princess of East-Friesland.

IV. "I beseech his imperial majesty graciously to permit those persons who accompanied me hither to return, and to defray the expence of their journey.

* Bruce's Memoirs, p. 148.

5. "On account of the dearneſs of this place, and becauſe my ſervants were ſtrangers, I have contracted ſome debts, which I intreat his imperial majeſty to diſcharge, that I may be remembered with honour, and that no unworthy reports may be circulated after my death. The ſums, which the crown will ſave by my deceaſe, may be employed in diſcharging theſe debts, ſince it is God's will that I depart from this world ſo prematurely and unexpectedly.

6. "My unforeſeen and untimely death is alſo the cauſe of my being unable to recompence my domeſticks, who had the care of regulating my expences; and as I am perfectly ſatiſfied that my ſecretaries Cluver and John Clement, who had charge of my diſburſements, have ſerved me with fidelity and honour, I humbly entreat that their accounts, which have receipts, may be paſſed, and that the other expenditures may be admitted upon their oath.

"I repoſe ſuch confidence in his imperial majeſty, that I truſt he will not reject this my laſt requeſt, more particularly when I reflect on the repeated inſtances which I have experienced of his paternal tenderneſs and affection.

"I have this alſo to add, that my death is not ſo grievous to me, but that I am much concerned to leave this world at a time when his imperial majeſty is indiſpoſed; a circumſtance which has prevented me from thanking him in perſon for the frequent proofs I have received of his kindneſs and regard. May the Almighty be his aid and protector; and may he add thoſe years to his life which are taken from mine; which I likewise faithfully, and with my whole heart, implore for her majeſty the empreſs; and, after returning my acknowledgements due to them for the repeated inſtances of their love and goodneſs, I expire, the moſt humble and moſt obedient daughter of both their majeſties,

CHARLOTTE CHRISTINA SOPHIA *."

"St. Peterſburgh, Oct. 21, Nov. 1, N. S. 1715."

* Muller in Buſ. XV. p. 237.

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It is a sufficient proof of the bad terms in which the princess lived with her husband, that she had not once mentioned his name, unwilling, perhaps, to disturb her last moments with any distressing reflections. Her ardent desire to see the emperor before she expired, was gratified. Peter, who was at Schluffelburgh at the time of her delivery, had set off upon the first news of that intelligence for Petersburg; but, upon his arrival in the capital, was seized with a sudden illness, which confined him to his chamber. Upon perusing, however, the affectionate expressions of her attachment, he was placed upon a machine rolling upon wheels, and thus conveyed to her apartment. Their interview was awful: she took leave of him in the most moving language and affecting manner, recommending her children to his care, and her servants to his protection; and received from him every consolation which her situation would admit, and the strongest assurances that all her wishes should be fulfilled. She then embraced her children, and, having bedewed them with tears, delivered them into the hands of her husband, whom decency obliged to be present at this tender scene. After having suffered the most acute pains, and struggled with succeeding agonies, she expired at midnight*.

She died a member of the Lutheran religion, which she had in vain been solicited to renounce; and nothing conveys a stronger proof of the high esteem in which she was held by the emperor, than that, although she had not embraced the Greek persuasion, her remains were interred in a Russian church: they were deposited on the 8th of November in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, with all the funeral honours due to her exalted station.

* Muller and Bruce.

I have been thus particular in relating the principal circumstances which attended the death of this princess, not only because her fate is interesting to every feeling mind, but also because a few years ago there appeared in France the following extraordinary account of this princess. Soon after her delivery, as the emperor happened to be absent from Petersburg, she persuaded some of her attendants to circulate a report of her death; and her husband, who had paid no attention to her during her illness, ordered her to be buried without delay: a piece of wood was substituted in the place of the body, and interred in the cathedral; and the princess made her escape into France. Apprehensive of being there discovered, she embarked for Louisiana, where she married a French serjeant, who had formerly been at Petersburg, to whom she bore a daughter. In 1752 she came with her husband to Paris, was discovered as she was walking in the Thuilleries by marshal Saxe, who promised secrecy, and procured a commission for her husband in the Isle of Bourbon. Having lost her husband and child, she, in 1754, returned to Paris with a negro woman. The bills upon the East India Company, which she brought in her husband's name, being refused because she could not prove herself to be his wife, a gentleman, whom she had known in the Isle of Bourbon, offered his assistance, which she declined. She confessed, it is said, to this gentleman her real character; and from him the author of the account pretends to have received these anecdotes; adding, that she soon afterwards disappeared, and was supposed to have retired to the court of her nephew the duke of Brunswick. In this wonderful narrative, the king of France is also said to have privately acknowledged her, and even to have enjoined the governor of the Isle of Bourbon to pay her these honours which were due to her rank. It is added, that the same monarch, in a

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letter written with his own hand, communicated this discovery to the empress of Germany (then queen of Hungary), who thanked the king for his intelligence, and immediately wrote to the supposed princess, as to her aunt; advised her to quit her husband and child, whom the king of France had promised to provide for, and invited her to Vienna.

Although I had little reason to give credit to an anonymous author, and the whole story carries with it the air of fiction, I yet made it the subject of my researches. I found, upon inquiry, that the circumstances of her death were such as could not be doubted, and accorded with the accounts which I have before related; and I was, moreover, informed by a Russian nobleman of high distinction, that his mother attended the princess in her illness; that she was a witness to her last moments, and saw herself the corpse laid in state, when persons of all ranks were admitted to kiss the hand of the deceased*.

* In L'Evesque's History of Russia there is an ample detail of the rise and progress of this anecdote of the princess's escape and adventures. It first made its appearance in Richer's continuation of the Abbé Marcy's *Histoire Moderne*; afterwards in Bossu's *Nouveaux Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*; and lately was revived in "*Pieces intéressantes et peu connues, pour servir à l'Histoire*;" in which, as an additional authority, it is qualified as an extract found among the papers of the late Duclos, secretary of the Royal Academy and Historiographer of France. The anecdote, like all other stories which are improved in their progress, is dressed in somewhat different shapes: in one the name of the husband is d'Auban, in the other Moldack; in one she marries a third time, and again becomes a widow; the circumstances of her escape are also variously related, and in all with the most evident marks of falsehood, and abso-

lute contradiction to the most undoubted facts; such as that she was assisted in her escape by the countess of Koningsmark, when there was no lady of that name about her person, or at Petersburg; that the body of the princess was interred almost at the instant of her decease, and without any funeral honours; that Peter I. was not at Petersburg when she died; that she was brought to bed before her time of a princess, with many other similar assertions, which sorely deserve any serious refutation. The reader, who is desirous of further information upon the subject, is referred to L'Evesque *Histoire de Russie*, Tom. IV, p. 384—389; and to the latter part of Muller's account, *Von der Princessen von Wolfenbittel* in *Buf. Hist. Mag.* XV. p. 239 to 241.—An extract also of the principal circumstances of this story is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and from thence is inserted in the *Annual Register* for 1776.

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